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EDITOR'S COMMENTS

THIS issue of *The American Neptune* presents a varied fare—something for almost everyone. We begin with an interesting article by Glenn S. Gordinier on 'Early American Trade with India: Taking an Observation.' It explains how important American trade with India was during the first decade of the nineteenth century, matching that with Canton and Hawaii. This trade, which is shown in a special new exhibit at the Peabody Museum in Salem should be especially noted during the 'Year of India,' which is being celebrated all over the country this year.

We follow with Seth O. Reed's article on 'Trade between Providence, Rhode Island, and the Caribbean and South America, in 1796.' This helps to throw light on Rhode Island's trade patterns during this period which are somewhat different from those of nearby Connecticut, especially since they included considerable traffic with South American ports. It also included some traffic in slaves, one that most other New Englanders found absolutely unprofitable.

Then the mood changes as Stuart Frank, who is an expert on the sea songs and chanties of our maritime past, explores some texts of the well-known sea song 'Boston.' This represents an interesting side of our sailing past. And this is followed by Helen Hill's biographical sketch of Edward Baker's career during the great age of the clippers which Carl Cutler has written about so eloquently. It also makes one realize how difficult voyages could be during the last great age of transatlantic sail.

We conclude with two articles that form quite a contrast. The first by Hawley Stevens entitled, 'C.S.S. *Georgia:* Memory and History' tells two accounts of the naval action which took place in 1863 between the U.S.S. *Vanderbilt* and the C.S.S. *Georgia* in South African waters. One is that of a certain James Morris Morgan who served as midshipman on *Georgia* and wrote his account from memory in 1917. The other is a more accurate account of the action based on historical records. This article warns us of how tricky memory can be, something of which all historians should be well aware.

And finally we have Phyllis A. Hall's account entitled, 'Sinking of *William P. Frye*.' This tells of the sinking of the American sailing ship by the German sea raider *Prinz Eitel Friedrich* in 1915, and forms an interesting contrast with the Civil War sea action which precedes it.

Finally we urge all our readers to give strong support to efforts in Congress this year to end the plundering of underseas wrecks by enthusiastic underwater amateur divers. They should write in support of Bill HR25 to their local congressman and of Senate Bill S 676 to their senators. If these bills are not passed in this session of Congress much precious material from these wrecks will be destroyed forever.

ARCHIBALD R. LEWIS

Salem, Massachusetts

Early American Trade with India: Taking an Observation

BY GLENN S. GORDINIER

TWO hundred years ago, during 1784 and 1785, the young American nation made its first tentative contacts with the exotic East. The famed voyage of *Empress of China* is accepted as the watershed venture to the markets beyond the Cape of Good Hope. But, one month after *Empress* set out from New York, another Yankee trader put to sea; this one departed from Philadelphia. She was the full rigged ship *United States,* and her officers were directed to 'explore the advantages of oriental commerce.'[1] Following layovers in Madeira and Sumatra, *United States* arrived at Pondicherry, on the Coromandel coast of India. After a small amount of trading, the ship returned to Philadelphia via the West Indies. Although *United States* had completed her voyage only a few months after *Empress of China,* she has faded into obscurity as the years have gone by.

As maritime scholars have recounted the rise and decline of America's maritime interests, the place of the India trade in that story has been obfuscated. And now, time and distance have created a stratus that prevents the taking of a clear observation of America's trade with India. During the Early National period, however, the role of America's trade with the Indian subcontinent was neither ignored nor unappreciated. By the turn of the nineteenth century, trade with the Malabar and Coromandel coasts had been firmly established. Tales about Bombay, Madras, and Pondicherry circulated through Yankee parlors. However, the intercourse with all of these peninsular centers was eclipsed by the volume of American trade with Bengal through its capital, Calcutta. Located on the Hooghly River, at the head of the Bay of Bengal, that burgeoning city was the seat of British rule for the whole of the East Indies. This 'City of Palaces' saw the arrival and departure of hundreds of vessels as shipping from America, Europe, and various 'country' ports made its way to the exotic entrepôt.

The many business opportunities in Calcutta and her sister ports attracted the attention of some of America's most successful merchants. Trade with Canton and the Spice Islands notwithstanding, men like Elias Hasket Derby sent numerous ships to India. In fact, it was due to his immersion in the India trade that Derby became the first millionaire in the United States.[2] Another native of Salem, William Gray, the largest shipowner in the country, also sent many vessels to India. The Browns of Providence, as well as the Lowells, Jacksons, Cabots, and Higginsons of Massachusetts, all owed part of their fortunes to the weavers of Bengal and the shrewd business sense that brought their manufactures to the Western world.

The importance of the India trade can be measured by more than the reputations of the men who plied it. Much more significantly, it can be said that the volume of America's India trade compares favorably with its China trade. For instance, vessels trading from New York port between 1800 and 1810 included 108 that went to or came from the Indian subcontinent as compared to 111 that traded with China.[3] Boston's situation was quite similar in that during these same years 123 vessels arrived from or departed to Indian ports, while 133 vessels were involved in trade with Canton.[4]

With the misconceptions that prevail regarding America's trade with India, it is not surprising that there is a dearth of information available about it. Recently, however, sources have come to light which help describe a trading venture to India. The 1809 voyage of the Boston brig *Reaper* was extraordinary because so many of its documents are still extant. The daily journal that was kept by Capt. Isaac Hinckley, as well as his account book, and book of letters, recently were added to the collection at Mystic Seaport Museum. Remarkably, the official log of that same voyage has been preserved at Salem's Peabody Museum. By looking at these and other records, it is possible to

1. G. Bhagat, *Americans in India* (New York, 1970), p. 27.

2. Bhagat, pp. 14-15.

3. M. Luke, *The Port of New York - 1800-1810, The Foreign Trade and Business Community* (Hempstead, N. Y., 1953), p. 66.

4. J. D. Forbes, "The Port of Boston, 1783-1815," doctoral dissertation (Harvard University, 1936).

describe, however briefly, a trading voyage to Calcutta, India. By so doing, one can better understand how, during the first decade of the nineteenth century, a new East Indiaman was outfitted and handled, and how Yankee entrepreneurs operated in that far-off port.

The voyage of the brig *Reaper* was quite typical for a venture to Calcutta. In fact, *Reaper* herself was typical of the vessels sent by American merchants to the East Indies during the years previous to the War of 1812. At 284 tons she was large enough to make a venture to the East cost effective, but small enough to work into the small ports that were often encountered beyond the Cape of Good Hope. One of America's brightest young shipbuilders, Thatcher Magoun, constructed her.[5] She was built for Andrew Cabot during Jefferson's Embargo; Cabot was seven-eighths owner. *Reaper* was launched from Magoun's yard in Medford, Massachusetts, and departed Boston on her maiden voyage not long after the interdiction of trade was lifted. Her original port of destination had been Mocha, Arabia, but that port was closed due to a war between rival Arab factions. Consequently, Capt. Isaac Hinckley, who was one-eighth owner and the ship's business agent, decided to move on to Calcutta where he could pick up a cargo that would consist largely of cotton piece goods.

When *Reaper* set out from Boston in June of 1809, she had onboard a complete outfit of stores and supplies. Hinckley listed all of these items in his journal (see Appendix A-D). The brig's extensive outfit included everything from the 1500-pound best bower anchor and 'one caboose complete,' down to the after-cabin's candlesticks and the fo'c'sle's wooden kids. *Reaper*'s armaments were also listed. They included four 4-pound cannon, four muskets, and four pistols. When approaching the Arabian coast, where Hinckley wrote, 'Christians are little belov'd,' the crew manufactured additional 'quaker' armament. On 30 September 1809, Hinckley felt his defense against pirates was complete when he wrote, 'Ship'd the Wooden guns; we Now Shew twenty Guns and look as rakeish as a half wet swab.'

At the outset of the voyage, Hinckley wrote his instructions regarding the bill of fare for each day of the voyage. It was a relatively simple matter for the captain to organize the limited selection of foodstuffs by setting up a weekly rotation of the choices. On Sundays and Mondays, the crew of *Reaper* were to be served salt beef, ship's biscuit, and potatoes. Tuesdays were to offer salt pork, ship's biscuit, and beans. Wednesdays brought salt fish, ship's biscuit, and potatoes. On Thursdays, the salt beef and biscuit were to reappear, but the potatoes were to be replaced with rice. Fridays were to be another pork and beans day, while Saturdays would offer another taste of salt cod and potatoes. There were a few spices listed among the provisions, and the reader can only hope that the East Indiaman's cook could apply them deftly to help break the monotony of the culinary routine that Hinckley suggested. The captain did go so far as to designate that four and a half pounds of flour were to be used during Sundays. Most likely that went into a plum duff for the sabbath. It is expected that *Reaper*'s crew looked forward with greatest delight to the thrice-weekly grog ration.[6] (Appendix D lists *Reaper*'s provisions.)

A new ship that had never been tested at sea always required adjustments, fine tuning, and some repair. *Reaper* was no exception. One problem was the ship's rigging. It repeatedly went slack, and Hinckley was forced to set it up. During his first day at sea, Hinckley wrote, '. . . our rigging being new it stretched very much, so I dare not carry sail. . . . '[7] Three days later he finally had a breeze that allowed him to correct the problem. His journal for 3 July 1809 noted, 'Employed setting up Rigging fore and aft, below and aloft which I find very slack . . . but now it is all taught and we can carry sail without fear.' The problem was not solved yet, however. Six weeks later, after setting up the gear again, Hinckley wrote in exasperation, 'Buy no rigging of Chapman. . . . '[8]

The new suit of sails had also given the young shipmaster difficulty during the early stages of the voyage. The sails had been manufactured in Massachusetts and did not hold up at all well. After one month at sea, Hinckley wrote, 'Mending sails altho but thirty days worn—our sails are all thin fore and aft below and aloft. . . . '[9] But, at least he kept his sense of humor about the problem, writing, 'Our American

5. J. Hutchins, *The American Maritime Industries and Public Policy, 1789-1914* (New York, reissued 1969), pp. 105, 108; S. E. Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts* 1783-1860 (Boston, 1941), p. 103.

6. I. Hinckley, *Journal of a Voyage in the Brig Reaper, 1809-1810*, G. W. Blunt White Library, Mystic Seaport Museum, Mess Bill for Brig *Reaper*.

7. Hinckley, 30 June 1809.

8. Hinckley, 9 August 1809.

9. Hinckley, 29 July 1809.

Duck fails fast, the foretopsail so thin you might drive geese through backward and not disturb their feathers. . . .'[10]

In spite of these and other lesser problems, Hinckley was quite pleased with his new command. He had noted that she performed well on several occasions. According to Hinckley, *Reaper* was dry, seaworthy, and capable of sailing well, both on and off the wind. He wrote that his 'charming' new brig could sail nine and ten knots 'nearly on a wind.' He even wrote that she could do eleven knots with great ease.[11] Hinckley also found that *Reaper* could ghost along with the slightest breeze, and yet remain safe and dry in heavy weather.[12] Comments such as these certainly make *Reaper* seem extraordinary in comparison to the bluff-bowed four- to six-knot sailers that we usually associate with this period. In any case, although she was somewhat crank, Hinckley's East Indiaman appears to have possessed all the attributes of a 'thoroughly good ship.'

By the time Hinckley and his crew approached the head of Bengal Bay they had long since ironed out *Reaper*'s rough spots and were making ready for their landfall. As the last few days of 1809 approached, the crew bent the anchors to their cables. Shortly thereafter, they sighted the Hooghly pilot and, after beating up the Sagour roads, entered the treacherous river.

The eighty-one-mile passage to Calcutta was difficult and dangerous. The Hooghly, which could generate eight-foot tidal bores, might capsize vessels the size of *Reaper,* so great care was essential. It took the Hooghly pilot five days to move the brig upriver to Calcutta. Once there, the harbor pilot took over and moved the vessel onto her mooring. Shipping in Calcutta was moored in tiers in the stream. Depending on the season of the year, the whole fleet would either face upstream or down. With *Reaper* arriving during the winter monsoon, with its northerly winds, she was brought to her mooring facing upstream.

Once in port, the view from *Reaper*'s starboard rail was most impressive. A quarter-mile below Calcutta was Fort William. Although now virtually unused, it had been built at the cost of two million pounds, and had been described as the finest fortress outside of Europe. Between the town and the fort stretched the Esplanade, a broad roadway that cut through the verdant native flora stretching to the edge of the muddy river. Along the Esplanade one could see Government House, home of the governor general. This magnificent structure, with its ionic facade and its long colonnades had also cost a fortune to construct. Other beautiful homes nearby housed the high officials of the British East Company and its military. These palaces combined with the public buildings and the two Anglican churches to create an architectural melange that was unsurpassed anywhere in the East.[13]

Farther to the north lay 'Black Town,' the rambling, crowded ghetto that was home to the native population of Calcutta. This crowded and mysterious community was rarely visited by the resident Europeans. Amazingly, all of this, including ghetto and palaces, had come to be since 1765, when Lord Clive had insured Britain's hold on Bengal with the construction of Fort William.[14]

It was in this new, yet ageless, entrepôt that Isaac Hinckley was expected to represent *Reaper*'s backers. If Hinckley carried out his business in the manner typical for Americans in Calcutta, he first reported to the Police Office to deliver the ship's register, and then went on to the Custom House to drop off *Reaper*'s cargo manifest. Another important function during the Bostonian's first business day would have been the acquisition of a small house from which he could conduct his business.[15] For this house Hinckley paid a rental fee of $7.06 per day.[16]

When *Reaper* had set out from Boston she had done so with a cargo that consisted of a small amount of lumber and three chests of silver. The silver was Spanish milled dollars, the standard international coin of exchange of the day. This money had been gathered from fifteen separate freighters. As was the custom, these men had pooled their resources in order to accumulate enough capital for an Eastern trading venture. As was often the case, one man had acted as the catalyst for this venture and served as consignee for the fifteen investors. For this particular voyage, that man was Andrew Cabot, principal owner of *Reaper*.

The amount of capital Cabot and his colleagues were able to muster amounted to $80,000, which

10. Hinckley, 28 July 1809.
11. Hinckley, 30 June 1809; 1 July 1809.
12. Hinckley, 10 July 1809; 20 July 1809.
13. C. N. Parkinson, *Trade in the Eastern Seas, 1798-1813* (Cambridge, G. B., 1937), pp. 32-43.
14. Parkinson, p. 34.
15. Bhagat, p. 65.
16. I. Hinckley, *Account Book, Voyage of the Brig Reaper, 1809-1810,* G. W. Blunt White Library, Mystic Seaport Museum, Freighters of Brig *Reaper* in a/c with Isaac Hinckley.

proved to be the perfect cargo for the Calcutta market. There were few goods that Yankees could sell Indian merchants; they simply did not need many of America's limited saleable products. They were happy, however, to receive specie. In fact, this pattern of carrying specie to India was so strong that for every dollar's worth of merchandise shipped to India, American merchants shipped six dollars' worth of specie between 1802 and 1806.[17]

Another of Hinckley's responsibilities upon arrival in Calcutta was the exchange of his coveted specie for sicca rupees, the currency of the local market. With the exchange rate standing at one sicca rupee equalling about forty-five American cents, Hinckley received 167,400 sicca rupees for his specie. Just as the American dollar was divided into cents, the rupee was the sum of twelve annas (a^s). The anna, in turn, was the sum of sixteen pice. Consequently, whenever, Hinckley recorded a transaction in Calcutta, he, like others, did so in three distinct rows: R^s 27 8 11 (twenty-seven rupees, eight annas, and eleven pice). On other occasions, when pice did not come into play, he would separate the rupees and annas with a slash: 27/8.

Once Hinckley had exchanged his cash for rupees he deducted the freight charge for carrying the chests of specie from Boston. The standard freight rate was 11 percent ($8,800). Thus, when Hinckley moved into the Calcutta marketplace he had a balance of R^s 148,986 ($71,200) to invest on behalf of the fifteen venturers back in Boston. This money was put into the purchase of a large number of cotton piece goods and a small amount of indigo. The indigo was a very valuable commodity, while the piece goods, although less expensive, were by far Calcutta's most sought-after export product for Western markets.

In order to obtain this cargo, Hinckley, like most Americans in Calcutta, required the services of a banian. The banian was a native businessman who acted as go-between and agent for foreign merchants. Unlike the Canton market, which was relatively straightforward, the Calcutta textile market was very complex. The role of the banian, therefore, was indispensable.

The textile production and marketing system in Bengal included approximately eight different functionaries who were involved in moving the cloth from the country weavers to the holds of the Western vessels. This system existed because of the extreme poverty of the weavers. In order to produce cloth, they required a cash advance which allowed them to buy their raw materials and the food to feed their families while they worked. The only way to guarantee that the goods created by the village weavers would reach their creditors was to organize a complex chain of command, a chain of command that also guaranteed other needy Bengalese a living wage.

In the country villages it was the pycars who were responsible for keeping in touch with the weavers. The pycars in turn reported to the gomastahs who acted as overseers in each village. It was the gomastahs whom the banians contacted when they searched the district for goods to purchase. Others involved in the movement of the cotton goods included armed servants called peons; hiscarars, the banians' messengers; and sircars, native secretaries.[18]

It was the banian who kept track of this complex organization. As the merchant's business representative, he also carried out a variety of other functions, including signing custom house bonds, guaranteeing payment for goods, and negotiating for the purchase of goods from other merchants. The American supercargoes preferred to deal with the banians because their fee for services rendered was approximately half that of resident European commission merchants. If the banian supplied an advance for the purchase of goods his commission was 5 percent of all sales, purchases, and shipments. If he was not required to tie up any of his own capital in the venture, his commission was only 2½ percent.[19]

It appears that the man that Hinckley hired as banian was either Ramlochun or Lacknut Benorjea. This seems to be the case because when *Reaper* returned to America both of these men shipped goods aboard her on their own account. In addition, Ramlochun had previously worked as banian for Andrew Cabot.[20]

Having a good banian was no guarantee of a profitable venture, however. The real key to successful trading in Calcutta was familiarity with the local market. Daily visits to the bazaar were required, otherwise an unwary westerner could pay as much as 25 percent too much for his purchases.[21] But, for Hinckley, it was the purchase of the cotton piece goods that would spell his

17. A. Seybert, Statistical Annals (Philadelphia, 1818), p. 289.

18. K. W. Porter, *The Jacksons and the Lees, Two Generations of Massachusetts Merchants, 1765-1844* (New York, reissued 1969), p. 57.

19. Porter, pp. 57-58.

20. Hinckley, Account Book, Voucher Sales on a/c Ramlochun Benorjea; Porter, pp. 807, 824, 835.

21. Porter, p. 995.

success or failure as a reliable agent in the Calcutta market.

The cotton goods market was particularly challenging as there were hundreds of different kinds of cotton cloths, each with unique qualities, and each with fluctuating financial worth. (Appendix E shows the invoice for the piece goods that Hinckley purchased.) Even in India, the names of many of these types of cloth have been lost over the years. But, during America's Early National Period, Indian traders would know each type, its characteristics and its relative worth, just as any buyer in New York's garment district would know his materials today. In Hinckley's day the situation was complicated even further by American use of secret codes and false names to mislead competitors in the volatile Calcutta market. Generally, however, the system whereby Bengal piece goods were named involved designating them first by village or region of origin, and second by general category of cloth. For instance, mirzapore chintz was a shiny cotton cloth and was woven near Mirzapore. Baftas were a kind of calico; Hinckley bought some that were dyed blue.[22]

The price of these piece goods was usually recorded in sicca rupees per corge (score) of pieces. Consequently, when a bale contained eighty pieces of Beerboom Gurrahs at R^s seventy per corge, the cost for that bale was R^s 280. The size of the piece goods was measured in cubits. As was the case with many other Indian units of measure, the size of a cubit could fluctuate. The Indian cubit was usually nineteen and a half or twenty inches, just a bit larger than the British eighteen-inch cubit.[23]

Although the piece goods made up the majority of *Reaper*'s cargo, there were other goods sought by Hinckley as well. Hinckley purchased these items with money earned by freighting the specie from America. That $8,800.00 combined with money earned from the sale of the lumber shipped from Boston, and a small advance, to give Hinckley R^s 24,581,55 ($11,747.19) to invest in the purchase of 'gruff goods.' These were the goods that Hinckley purchased on the account of *Reaper*'s owners. There was quite a variety of gruff goods, sugar being one of the most important.

Sugar was India's second largest export commodity, and it was appropriate that it was also Isaac Hinckley's second largest purchase in Calcutta. The sugar was stowed in *Reaper*'s hold in bags, and its value, like any other item that was sold by weight, was reflected in sicca rupees per maund. A maund (m^d) was a measure of weight that fluctuated slightly but equalled approximately eighty-four pounds.[24] A maund equalled forty seers (s^r), which equalled sixteen chittacks (c^h). The purchase of the sugar, and many other items, was also recorded in British hundred weight (112 pounds), quarters (twenty-eight pounds), and pounds.

The prices for the sugar varied slightly with each separate lot, but was approximately R^s 6/7 per maund. The total price for $1246^{md}37^{sr}$ 12^{ch} of sugar was R^s 8,011 12 7. In addition to the cost of the sugar there were ten separate charges that were paid in order to cover the cost of packing, weighing, storing, protecting, and clearing the bags of sugar. The cost for these services was R^s 217 8 8 which brought the total expenditure for 46.6 British long tons of sugar to R^s 8,229 5 3 or $4,932.76. The other gruff goods Hinckley purchased were invoiced in a similar manner. Those goods included ginger, turmeric, shellack, gum copal, pepper, horn tips from cattle, goat skins, gunny bags, and twine (Appendix F).

It was through regular trips to the bazaars that Hinckley was able to obtain these goods. Once purchased, they were transported to the godown (warehouse) that he had rented. From there, they were moved to *Reaper*. The daily expenses for loading these commodities on the brig included the cost of dunnage, coolie hire, dinghy hire, lascar longshoremen, and their serang, or foreman.[25]

Hinckley carried out his business each day with the assistance of Benorjea. It is not likely, however, that the captain from Boston socialized with his banian very much, if at all. Unlike the hong merchants of Canton, the native merchants of India were generally regarded as poor social companions.[26] In addition, Hinckley, like a number of other Yankees, apparently felt somewhat superior to many that he met in distant lands.[27] Hinckley slept ashore each night, and he most likely took part in some of the social life of the Western community in Calcutta.

22. P. J. Thomas, *Mercantilism and the East India Trade* (New York, 1965), p. 30; Hinckley, Journal, Invoice of Shippers Goods.
23. Porter, p. 1017; Hinckley, Journal, Invoice of Shippers Goods.
24. Porter, p. 595.
25. Hinckley, Account Book, Disbursements of Brig *Reaper* at Calcutta.
26. Porter, p. 59.
27. Hinckley, Journal, 14 October 1809; Bryant P. Tilden, Journal of Bryant P. Tilden, Supercargo, Ship *Canton*, First Voyage to Canton MSS Collection, Peabody Museum of Salem, pp. 43-45.

It was the social routine which dominated daily life in the City of Palaces since business was generally carried out during morning hours. Thereafter, conviviality and the festive board were the order of the day. Dinner was served at about 2 P.M. and could include items such as a soup, roast fowl, curry and rice, mutton pie, lamb, rice pudding, tarts, cheese, butter, bread, and madeira.[28] Between four and five in the afternoon, people would lie down and rest. During the evenings, a palanquin ride to the river's edge preceded a stroll along the Esplanade between Fort William and the city.[29] This lovely road was typical of the better thoroughfares in Calcutta, being made of pounded brick covered with sand.[30] Another popular diversion in the evenings was to go riding, even though the dust kicked up by countless hooves created a suffocating dust storm.[31] Tea was then taken and people retired from the streets to play cards or listen to music. At 10 P.M. supper was served and the day's socializing began to wind down.[32]

Most Westerners enjoyed this social schedule immensely. One reason for this was the opulence in which they lived. The native population of Bengal was so desperate for work that people would take on the smallest of jobs for an absolute minimal wage.[33] A cadre of inexpensive servants made Europeans and Americans feel like royalty. Many households had servants that would do virtually everything for the Western occupants, including dressing them, washing them, shaving them, and even combing their hair.[34] To make life even more pleasant, Hinckley was lucky enough to be in Calcutta during the cool winter season. Although a mosquito net was always needed, the mid-winter days were dry and healthful.[35] Thus, January was the height of the social season and the social whirl carried on apace. Westerners, with their entourage of bearers, cooks, stewards, footmen, and butlers could enjoy the 'harmonic' and socialize along Esplanade Row. While doing so they chose to ignore the nearby decay of Black Town. Along the narrow streets of this native section of town thousands of Indians lived in their shanties of mud, mat, and bamboo.[36]

Isaac Hinckley probably did not take part in the lopsided social order in Calcutta as much as other Westerners in residence. Hinckley was determined to purchase his cargo, load his brig, and depart for Boston, Massachusetts as rapidly as possible. Consequently, he began to purchase goods shortly after his arrival and send them to his vessel.

While Hinckley was ashore acting as *Reaper*'s supercargo, Nathaniel Spooner, first mate, was busy back aboard the brig, carrying out vessel maintenance and readying her to take on cargo. Spooner spent the first three days in port unbending sails, sending down yards, discharging ballast, and generally making things shipshape.[37] By Tuesday, 9 January 1810, the first of the dunnage began to be lightered out to *Reaper*. One hundred 'bamboos,' one hundred mats, and the labor of the three coolies that delivered them cost Hinckley eleven sicca rupees, or approximately four dollars and ninety-five cents.[38] During the next two days the first of Hinckley's purchases was stowed below. Forty bundles of gunny bags and two hundred and eighty sacks of sugar were stowed deep in *Reaper*'s bowels. Both could serve as dunnage for the valuable cotton goods.

Mr. Spooner took advantage of the early loading period to carry out serious maintenance efforts by careening *Reaper* down to her copper sheathing and painting her bottom. On Saturday, 13 January, more gunny bags were stowed down, along with 275 bags of ginger. More importantly, the first of the cotton goods that were purchased on the account of *Reaper*'s freighters, was brought aboard. As the next week passed, additional cargo was loaded, particularly the various gruff goods purchased on the owner's account. During the final week and a half in port, the majority of the cotton goods were transported to the brig.

When these cottons were received onboard, they were pressed into the hold as tightly as possible by screw jacks that had been set up shortly after arrival.[39] As January drew to an end, cargo space in *Reaper*'s hold was slowly absorbed. Some space was even bought by other merchants in Calcutta as they shipped

28. E. Fay, *Original Letters from India, 1779-1815* (New York, 1925), p. 189.
29. Fay, p. 199; R. J. Cleveland, *A Narrative of Voyages and Commercial Enterprises* (Boston, 1850), 119.
30. R. Heber, *Narrative of a Journey Through the Upper Provinces of India from Calcutta to Bombay, 1824-1825* (Philadelphia, 1829), p. 58.
31. Fay, p. 199.
32. Ibid.
33. Cleveland, p. 118.
34. Cleveland, p. 123.
35. Ibid.
36. Cleveland, p. 124; Fay, p. 203.
37. Log of the Brig *Reaper*, MMS Collection, Peabody Museum of Salem, 6-8 January 1810.
38. Hinckley, Account Book, Disbursements Brig *Reaper* in Calcutta.
39. Bhagat, p. 65.

goods to Boston in Hinckley's vessel.[40] At last, with additional gruff goods packed around *Reaper*'s cotton goods, the main hatch was battened down.

On Thursday, 30 January the harbor master came onboard during the morning and unmoored the brig. John Harrison, the river pilot, then took charge and dropped *Reaper* down river to the lower part of Garden Reach. There, Captain Hinckley joined the vessel.

The trip down river was slow and treacherous. Due to the strong tides and currents the vessel travelled for only six hours each day. The rest of the time she was brought to anchor to await the sunrise or a change in the tide.[41] It took eight days for Harrison to bring the vessel to the Sand Heads where he took his departure and Hinckley assumed sole command of his brig.

Once at sea *Reaper* made her way south with steady breezes and pleasant weather. Her passage down the Bay of Bengal was marred when she was overhauled by the British frigate *Clorinde*. During that incident, a junior officer was sent aboard *Reaper* to examine her papers. She was eventually allowed to proceed although Hinckley had been treated 'not very politely.' Whether the Briton behaved in a gentlemanly manner was not the point for Captain Hinckley, however. He simply did not approve of such treatment at the hands of the British. During a similar encounter years later, Hinckley expressed his disapproval of having his men mustered by some 'swallowtail coated fop.'[42]

Following the encounter with *Clorinde,* Hinckley sailed on, around the Cape of Good Hope, and up through the South Atlantic. As was often the case with a vessel at sea, *Reaper* sailed on week after week without sighting either land or another vessel. The greater part of this voyage, like almost any other, was spent in total solitude, as the men toiled day after day in their diminutive world, a world that was surrounded by a vast sea, both barren and forbidding.

On 21 April when seventy-three days out from the Hooghly, Hinckley recorded:

> At two AM the wind veres to SSE appears to be the SE Trade, ends with steady fresh Trade wind Thank Heaven. All sail fore and aft below and aloft rolling down for St. Helena. Cleaned Ship fore and aft Homeward Bound Hurra

Once Hinckley was in the latitude of St. Helena he considered himself on the homeward leg of his odyssey. His short notes in his journal reflected strengthening ties with Boston and family as he wished '. . . Pleas time to the Girls Maying,' '. . . Oh God, I pray for a speedy passage from this to my friends,' and 'Continuance to the breeze that drives us along Home.'[43] On 3 June the only duty being performed onboard was 'shaving and cleaning ourselves.' The following day *Reaper* met 'rough irregular seas' that could only have appeared over Georges Bank. Then, finally, at dawn of 8 June 1810 the brig *Reaper* dropped her anchor just off Long Wharf, Boston. By noon of the same day, Hinckley strode uptown to see his family.

Of course the arrival of *Reaper* did not signal the end of this trading venture. The vessel needed to be secured and the cargo discharged and sold. For two days following her arrival, *Reaper*'s crew worked through wind and rain to unbend her sails and send down her upper yards. During the evening of 9 June, the crew was finally discharged and the brig was hauled up to May's wharf. Two days later the first of the cargo was discharged. Initially, pepper, ginger, and gunny bags were off-loaded. It took a week for the longshoremen to work their way down through the various goods to the sugar deep in *Reaper*'s hold. As this last of the cargo was hoisted from her, twenty tons of ballast were brought onboard to stiffen the brig.[44]

As was the custom with goods imported from Eastern ports, the cargo that Hinckley had secured was auctioned off within weeks after *Reaper* had arrived. The voyage had been a success and the brig was immediately prepared for sea. Three weeks after her return to Boston, *Reaper* was bound out once again; her commander was Nathaniel Spooner, her original mate. Although the financial accounts for the first voyage were not yet closed, Andrew Cabot felt confident that he could find a market from which he could turn a substantial profit. As *Reaper* left Boston light astern for the second time she was bound to one of the busiest and most exotic ports in the world, Calcutta, India, the keystone of the British Empire and one of America's favorite Eastern ports of destination.

Over the years, much has been written about America's trade with Canton, the Northwest coast, Sumatra and the Spice Islands. However, other than Goberdhan Bhagat's *Americans in India,* segments of Kenneth W. Porter's *The Jacksons and the Lees,* and several arti-

40. Hinckley, Account Book, Shippers.
41. Log, 30 January - 8 February 1810.
42. Tilden, p. 9. See Summer of 194 Log of Mystic Seaport.
43. Hinckley, Journal, 1 May; 8 May; 17 May 1810.
44. Log, 9 June - 22 June 1810.

cles by scholars like Holden Furber, little has been published about Yankee trade with British East India. As a result we cannot judge the importance of India to our developing society a century and a half ago. As of late, other segments of the American community have expressed growing interest in that part of the world, but for many in the field of maritime history, the India trade is as mysterious as Black Town was to our forebearers.

While sailing to Eastern ports, Capt. Isaac Hinckley took Sundays to instruct interested crew members about navigation. He would rouse them out with the call 'Twelve o'clock! Suns up . . . do you hear the news there master cook?' Crew members would then muster aft because it was time to take their meridian observation.[45] And now it's time for some new observations—for maritime scholars to look closely at America's Indian trade. By reassessing this nation's experience in the East, we may illuminate what has become, for us, the shadowy subcontinent of India.

45. Tilden, p. 19.

Appendix A

MEM° & INVENTORY OF THE BRIG REAPER

Masts Spars Standing & Running Rigging compleate, with one Compleate Suite of Sails, mostly of American Duck, manufactured in North Hampton, in the State of Massachusetts—onboard 130 Tons Stone Ballast

	Lbs.
1 Bower Anchor	1500
1 Small Bower Anchor	1400
1 Stream Anchor	900
1 Kedge Anchor	300
1 Long Boat with oars Rudder Tiller &c complete	

		Inches
1 Bower Cable	120 fs	13½
1 Small Bower ditto	120 fs	12½
1 Stream Cable	65 fs	10½
1 Hawser	120 fs	7
1 Yawl complete		
1 Caboose complete		

SHIP CHANDLERY

1 Azimuth Compass
2 Brass Steering D°
2 Wood D. D°
1 Brass Hanging D°
4 Half hour Glasses
4 14″ Second Glasses
6 Hand Buckets
2 Draw Buckets
1 Speaking Trumpet
1 Hand Trumpet
2 Hand Lines
1 Deep Sea Line
1 Binnicle Lamp
1 Copper Hand pump
2 Harpoons 2 pr Grains
50lb Sewing Twine
4 Oak Boards
6 Doz Needles assorted
1 Doz Handspikes
6 Capstern Bars
2 Purchase Handspikes
8 Doz Hanks

2 Iron Shovels
4 Tar Brushes
6 Long Boats Oars
6 Yawls Oars
1 Ensign 8 by 4 Yards
1 D° Smaller
4 Kids - 1 Cooks Axe
1 Coffee mill Iron
1 Hand Coffee mill
Pine Plank & Boards &c
1 Pitch Pot & Ladle
5 Oak Plank
1 Signal Lanthron
2 Horn Lanthrons
1 Cooks Lanthron
1 Log Reel
10 Sceines Log Line not enough
1 Doz Fish Hooks assd
1 Deep Sea Lead XIIILbs
2 Hand Leads 7Lb ea
1 Tea Kettle, cast
1 D° sheet Iron

1 Small Iron Pot
2 Bake Pans - 1 Logslate
1 Tureen - Log Book
1 Tinder Box & Steel
2lb Brimstone, 1 Sieve
1lb Wick Yarn
2 doz Stick Brooms
2 doz Burch Brooms
2 Mops 4 Scrub Brushes not enough
1 pr Steelyards 115lb
1 Spider 1 doz knives & forks
1 Cork Screw 1 Green Cloth
1 Hand Brush & Dustpan
2 Tin Tea Cannisters
2 Ditto Pepper & Mustard
1 pr. Bellows 2 Servg Mallets
20 Galls Sperm Oil not enough
1 Box candles
1 Flesh Fork
1 Grid Iron
&c &c &c &c &c &c &c

Appendix B

Cabin Stores & Carpenters Tools

CABIN STORES
2 doz Soup Plates
2 doz flat Plates
2 doz pint Mugs
5 large Dishes
1 Pudding Dish
2 Tea Pots 1 Coffee Pot
2 Sugar Bowls
1 Straw Tumblers
1 Doz Wine Glasses
1 doz large Spoons
1 doz Tea Spoons
2 Water Pitchers
4 Tin Pans
1 Tin Tureen
1 Ladle for D°
3 Brass Lamps
2 Brass Candlesticks
1 p Snuffers Oil Safe
1 Sett measures 1 Bell
2 Tin Funnels
1 Globe, Cabin Lamp
1 Sett Carbons complete
1 p decanters
1 doz knives & forks Carvers & Steel
1 Table & cloth - Brush & Dush Pan
&c &c &c &c &c &c &c

CARPENTERS TOOLS
1 Broad Axe
2 Hatchets
1 Coopers Adze
3 Spike Gimlets
8 Small ditto
2 Gouges
1 Long Shave
6 Augers assd
12Lb Sheet Lead
Chalk & Lines
1 pr Calipers
1 pr Pincers
1 clinch Hammer
1 claw ditto
1 pump ditto
2 Cold Chisels
50Lb Spikes
28 lbs. Nails
2 copper pump
2 fore Plains
1 Jointer, Spare
1 Bitstock 1 p Marks Irons
1 Saw Sett 1 pr Crowes
1 Sett screws for Lathe

1 Bbl Tar, 2 Rozin 1 Pitch
1 Black 1 White Varnish
2 Crows Bars
1 Adze
8 Scrapers
1 Screw driver
8 Chisels
1 Spokeshave
1 Tap
3 p Hand Cuffs
6 Files 2 rasps
2 Compasses
1 rule
1 Top [unintelligible]
2 Boat Hooks
1 Soundg Rod
1 Grind Stone
1 Sett caulkg Irons
1 Mallett
6 Sides Leather
Tacks
2 Smoothg Plains Irons
&c &c &c &c &c &c &c &c

Appendix C

PAINTS
2 Cwt White Lead
½ Cwt Yellow, ground
4 Doz papers Lampblack
20 Galls Boiled Oil
1 Doz Brushes
12Lb Verdigris ground

SPARE CANVAS
7 Bolts thick Duck
7 Bolts thin Duck
60 Yards old Canvas

WATER CASK

1	154	Gs	1	120
1	155		1	123
1	156		1	120
1	136		1	122
1	140		1	126
1	130		1	124
	871		1	124
	2181		1	114
	3052		1	64
Galls on-			1	62
board			1	62
			1	60
				1221
8 Rum Hogs				960

SAILS MADE ONBOARD
1 Middle Staysail
1 Top Gt Staysail
1 Fore Sail
2 Top G. Sails
2 Skysails
1 Jib
1 Flying Jib
1 Fore Topmt Staysail
1 Main Topmt Staysail
1 Lower Steeringsail
21 [Sails]

1 Quarter Deck awning

Appendix C *continued*

SPARE SPARS
2 Topm[t]
2 Lower Yards
2 Top s[l] Yards
2 Top G[l] Yards
Steerg Sail Booms &
Other Small Spars

SPARE RIGGING
200 fathoms 3 Inch
250 " 2½
400 Fathoms 2 Inch
200 " 18 Thread
400 " 15 "
300 " 12 "
200 " 9 "
2 Coils 2 Yarn S. Yarn

SAILS ONBOARD AT BOSTON
1 Flying Jibb
1 Main Jibb
1 Fore T. Staysail
1 Fore Sail
1 Fore Topsail
1 Spare Topsail
1 Fore T. Gallt Sail
1 Fore TG. Royal
1 Lower Fore SteergSail
1 Fore Top[t] SteergSail
1 Fore TG SteergSail
1 M T Staysail
1 Main Sail
1 Main Topsail
1 Main TG Sail
1 Main TG Royal
2 Main Topm[t] Steering Sails
2 Main TG SteergSails
1 Trysail
21 Sails onboard at sailing

ARMS & C
4 4 Pound Cannon complete with
Ramers ladles, Sponges, Worms,
Tackles, &c &c &c
4 Muskets Complete
4 Pistols Complete
100[Lb] Powder Cannon
25 Musket Powders
Powder Horns
Priming Wiers
Match Stocks
Match Rope & Cartrige Paper
&c &c &c &c

Appendix D

Stores For The Reaper to Mocha

3000 Galls Water
4000[lb] Bread
22 Bbls Beef
10 D[o] Pork
2½ Bbls Tongues
4[Cw] Cod Fish not enough
4 Bush Beans
1½ D[o] Split Peas
4 Bls Flour
3 D[o] Kiln dried meal
1[Cw] Rice not enough
90 Galls Molasses
90 Gals Vinegar
3 Bbs Rum
20 Bush Potatoes

1 Box Sweet Oil
1 Box Essence Spruce
12[lbs] Hops
20[lbs] Bohea Tea] not enough
8[lbs] Hylon Tea]
60 [lb] Coffee
4[lb] Ground Pepper
½[Cw] Cayenne
1 Box Chocholate
1 Bbl Brown Sugar not enough
½D[o] White Sugar
1 Bbl Hams - not enough
100[Lb] Cheese
100[Lb] Butter
2¼ Cask Wine

2 doz Porter
2 doz Cyder
1 Bar Port Wine
4 doz Cyder
15 Galls Brandy
15 Galls Rum WI
10 D Ginn
4 D[o] Pickles
4 D[o] Mustard not enough
1 Cask Raisin
30 Galls Lamp Oil not enough
1 Box Candles
15 Pigs - 1 Sow Do
3 doz Fowls 1 Goat Kid
40 Bushels Corn not enough

Appendix E

Invoice of Shippers Goods

Invoice of 385 Bales piece Goods & 40 Chests of Indigo Shipped by Isaac Hinckley onboard the American Brig REAPER himself Master bound for Boston for a/c & risk of the following persons Viz[t] David Sears 10/80 Sam[l] H. Walley, Dudley L. Pickman & H. G. Foster 10/80 Gardner Greene 6/80 Sam[l] Gardner 6/80 Tho[s] Wigglesworth 6/80 Joseph Head 5/80 Isreal Thorndike 5/80 Jn Cabot J[r] 5/80 Joseph Tilden & Jn Belknap 5/80 John Osgood 4/80 Barnabas Hedge J[r] 4/80 Zack. F. Silsbee 4/80 Robert Stone J[r] 4/80 George Cleveland 2/80 & Andrew Cabot 4/80. All Native Citizens of the U States of America and Consign'd to M[r] Andrew Cabot Merchant Boston . . . Viz[t]

Marks & Numbers		*No. Bales*	*Ps in @ Bale*	*Whole No. Pieces*	*Names of Goods*	*Length & Breadth*	*Price per Corge*	*Amt in S Rupees*
	"R"							
N° 1	21	21	80	1680	Beerboom Gurrahs	36/6 by 2¼	70/	5880
	22	1	55	55	Ditto Ditto	36/6 by 2¼	70/	192 8
23	30	8	225	1800	Mirzapore Chintz	11/2 1¾ 1⅞	10/8	1755
31	36	6	100	600	Sooty Romall Hkf[s]	15 in aps	30/	900
37	50	14	60	840	Blue Gurrahs	36/6 by 2⅛	86/4	3622 8
51	58	8	100	800	Blue Mowsannahs	2/2 by 1⅜	44/12	1790
59	60	2	200	400	Calcutta Chintz	9½/10 by 2	19/8	390
	61	1	180	180	Ditto Ditto	9½/10 by 2	19/8	175 8
62	64	3	60	180	Blue Gurrahs	34/6 2⅛	86/4	776 4
65	67	3	100	300	Blue Mowsannahs	2½ 1⅜	44/12	671 4
	69	1	63	63	Blue Baftas	24/5 2	62/	195 4/9
70	75	6	125	750	Red Custers	14/5 1⅝	28/8	1064 12
76	79	4	125	500	Madrass Pattern Hkf[s]	8 in aps	57/	1275
80	86	7	132	924	Red Gilla Hkf[s]	8 in aps	34/4	1582 5/6
87	90	4	120	480	Blue Gilla Hkf[s]	10 in aps	36/	864
91	99	9	120	1080	Ditto Ditto	10 in aps	36/8	1863
	100	1	100	100	Ditto Ditto	10 in aps	36/8	182 8
101	140	40	80	3200	Beerboom Gurrahs	35/6 by 2⅛ ¼	66/8	10640
141	171	8	125	1000	Sooty Ramall Hkf[s]	15 in aps	28/8	1425
149	171	23	80	1840	Beerboom Gurrahs	35/6 by 2⅛ ¼	66/8	6118
172	221	50	100	5000	Gualalpors Mamoody	39/40 2	97	24250
N°	222	1	100	100	Fine Mergingy Mamoody	37/8 by 1⅝	72/	360
224 a	243	20	100	2000	Ditto Ditto Ditto			7200
245 a	276	32	100	3200	Ditto Ditto Ditto			11520
	278	1	100	100	Ditto Ditto Ditto			360
279 a	281	3	90	270	Aliabac Mamoody	40/1 2¼	102/	1377
282 a	321	40	120	4800	Mowsannahs	21/2 1⅜	35/	8400
322 a	335	14	120	1680	Mow Emerities	31/2 2¾	77/4	6489
336 a	343	8	125	1000	Manickpore Gurrahs	28/9 1¼ 1½	32/8	1625
344 a	355	12	120	1440	Mowsannahs	21/2 1⅜	35/	2520
356 a	359	4	130	520	Lauhurpore Launs	29/30 2	65/	1690
360 a	363	4	100	400	Chaudergury Mamoody	42 2	105/	2100
364 a	368	5	100	500	Janna Cossas	39/40 2⅛	85	2125
369 a	379	11	100	1100	Janna Mamoody	39/40 1¾ ⅞	85	4675
	380	1	100	100	Ditto Ditto	39/40 1¾ ⅞	85	425
382 a	390	9	100	900	Jaulapore Mamoody	39/40 by 2	97	4365
								120837 14

Appendix E *continued*

Charges						
Bales Am[t]g to	120837	14				
Deduct 10 pct	12083	12	7			
Net Am[t]	108754	1	5			
Duties 2½ pct				2718	13	7
Collectors Com[s] 5 pct on duty				135	15	1
Over Duties				150		10
Packing, Screwing Gunnys						
Wraping cloth, Rope, Wash						
Men &c 4/10 p[t] Bale				1780	10	
Godown Rent Judgers Wages						
Matts, Boat hire, Marking						
Lascars Present 4 as pct				302	1	6
						5087 9
						125925 7

Sicca Rupees

Calcutta January 27th 1810

Errors Excepted
Isaac Hinckley

Appendix F

Invoice of Owners' Property

General Invoice of Owners' Property

	Net Factory Weight	*Price per Maund*	*Amount in Sicca Rupees*		
196 Bags Sugar	511 4 0	6/7	3290 3 3		
110 Bags Sugar	284 16 0	6/7	1866 6 0		
90 Bags Sugar	234 18 12	6/10	1553 5 8		
83 Bags Sugar	126 39 0	6/0	1301 13 8		
479				8011	12 7
807 Bags Ginger	1172 28 0	3/14	4311 11 5		
89 Bags Ginger	132 36½ 0	3/0	531 12 9		
896				4843	8 2
46 Bags Tumerick	64 31 0	2/10		170	0 10
7 Boxes Shellack	22 18½ 0	13/8		303	4 0
8 Boxes Gum Copal	34 20 0	20/8		707	4 0
748 Bags Pepper	753 38 12	11/8		8670	10 3
6000 Bullocks Horn Tips	a 1/12 p 100			105	
7000 Gunny Bags	6/8 p 100			455	
6000 Ditto Ditto	7/8 p 100			450	
1 Bale 500 Goat Skins		19/8 p 100		97	8
1 Bale Twine 604 Skeins					
1 Bale D[o] 604 Skeins					
1 Bale D[o] 605 Skeins					
Skeins 1813	151¼ doz a/10 p doz[n]			94	86
				23908	8½

Appendix F *continued*

Charges

Expense, attending, Packing & Shipping the above goods		672 13 1
	S[a] Rupees	24581 5 5

Calcutta January 27 1810
Errors Excepted
I Hinckley

Glenn Gordinier is the research associate for the Education Department at Mystic Seaport Museum. His responsibilities there include lecturing for visiting college classes, teaching the Summer Program in Museum Studies, and directing the museum's cadre of roleplayers. Having recently joined the Ph.D. program at the University of Connecticut, he holds an M.Ed., and an M.A. in American history.

The Trade between Providence, Rhode Island, and the Caribbean and South America, in 1796

By Seth O. Reed

IN the interest of fully accurate titles, and in keeping with the flavor of those of the period, this minor research should be headed: 'The Trade between Providence, including Pawtucket, and the Caribbean and South America, in 1796, as evidenced by the Shipping Manifests stored in the Rhode Island Historical Society, for that year, as occasionally contrasted with those of some parts of later years.'

As with most port cities, Providence in 1796 had its citizens to protect, its commerce to record, and its taxes to collect. Aside from papers in family collections, the bulk of the shipping records are contained in the library of the Rhode Island Historical Society.

This article reports the results of an examination of a thorough delving into some of those papers, the primary sources of information about what was going on at the time.

The Setting

During 1796, England and France entered the third year of their two-decade conflict. Though both sides could claim successes—for example, the British at Ushant and the French on the Continent—they found themselves at something of a draw; each apparently avoiding, for the moment, the large-scale confrontation that would determine the world's language; each, for the moment, preoccupied with domestic concerns.

In France, Robespierre was dead. The Directory was trying to translate the ideas of 1789 into the practical and political realities demanded by an international war and a hungry population. Meanwhile, Napoleon was asserting himself as the Republic's first soldier with his victories in the Italian campaign—successes beneficial not only in and of themselves, but also because of the allies they helped attract, notably Spain, who, in the early stages of the war, had originally joined with England.

Across the Channel, a reported ten thousand persons grieved at the funeral services in Dumfries, Scotland, for Robert Burns. And Pitt hastily reassessed his views about the war—he had originally presumed it would be short—and further pondered the national problems stemming from a spirit of reform, aided and abetted by the French Revolution, and the poor harvests of 1795.[1]

The European struggle, by this time, had overflowed its continental boundaries and was affecting other parts of the world, especially the Caribbean where West Indian islands were soon to change hands with an astonishing rapidity. Moreover, as if to further obfuscate an already equivocal situation, Laveaux and Toussaint were busy consolidating their revolution in Haiti, where, on 1 April 1796, to strains of 'La Marseillaise,' Laveaux had proclaimed Toussaint his lieutenant governor, both in name and fact.[2]

Except by their alliances with their respective mother countries, the Spanish and Portuguese colonies were not yet overly subject to the vicissitudes of Europe. Even though Miranda was attempting an audience with Pitt, South America, at that time, was still very much in the Hispanic orb, guided by the laws and regulations that issued hence, which, as was the practice, were colored by the colonists' perceptions of their own realities: 'I obey, but do not (cannot) implement.'[3]

Throughout the Anglo-French conflict, the United States vacillated. Politically, the new nation was at something of a loss to commit itself to one side or the other. The British position, on the one hand, might be more beneficial in the long run, or could more directly threaten American naval and commercial interests

1. Further, it must be noted that according to C. Northcote Parkinson, one Horatio Hornblower was serving as a midshipman under Sir Edward Pellew on *Indefatigable*. (See *The Life and Times of Horatio Hornblower.*)

2. Ralph Korngold, *Citizen Toussaint*, pp. 122-23.

3. By way of illustration, it might be noted that in 1799, Cuban ports were supposedly closed, but the captain general of Cuba suppressed the order and continued to accord port privileges to American vessels. (See Earl Tanner, 'Trade Between the Port of Providence and Latin America, 1800-1830,' typed Ph.D. thesis [Harvard University, 1951], pp. 117-18. [Cited as *Tanner.*])

short-term. The French appealed because of their assistance during the American independence movement and because of their apparently imitative political example, despite a general American dislike of the French themselves.

On the commercial side of the question of alliance or neutrality, opinions were closely related to feelings about how the Americans might reap the 'best' deal. Albion and Pope quote a New York merchant, writing to a Jamaican friend, as follows:

> Should a war (O, horrid war!) take place between Great Britain and France, will not your ports be open to us, and our commerce with you as neutrals be an object of consideration?[4]

Independence had brought with it the high price of the revocation of the British commercial advantages. In the period immediately following the American Revolution, American commercial interests found themselves in a depression. The prospect of filling the shipping void that would be induced by a European war was a pleasant one.[5]

Without a doubt, some of the hopes of the American merchantmen and their owners were met in the opening years of the conflict, but both England and France were equally skeptical of America's proclaimed neutrality. And with good reason. As often as not, Yankee skippers simply adopted the procedure of taking a cargo from Cuba, for example, to Spain via New York. In New York, the cargo was allegedly unladen and reloaded, assessed virtually refundable duties, and sent along to, say, Cadiz, containing technically 'American' products from a 'neutral' country.

The first blow against American neutrality came from the British. They declared flour, along with the usual munitions, contraband in the hopes of starving France. British letters of marque, seizures, and condemnations became routine. Nevertheless, substantial profits could be realized with fast ships and well-finessed voyages, and American vessels continued their trading.[6]

In hopes of alleviating the strained relations with Great Britain, the then chief justice, John Jay, left for London in May of 1794. The resulting agreement with the British seemed to many merchants to be almost worthless. It did officially open trade between the British sugar colonies and England, but only to American vessels no larger than seventy tons. (The British apparently felt that smaller vessels would be unable or unwilling to make the transatlantic portion of the old 'triangle.')[7]

Despite, however, the public reaction to the letter of the treaty, Yankee merchants had little to fear from its spirit. By 1796, Anglo-American relations had eased considerably, to the point that in the West Indies, with the exception of the occasional pirate, American vessels were enjoying the easiest trips of the wartime period.[8]

Soon, the French, as might have been expected, took offense at this Anglo-American amicability. It resulted in the undeclared naval 'war' between France and the United States from 1798 to 1801, which caused serious restrictions on American ships as the French assumed the earlier British roles with privateers and prize courts.

But that war was to come later. For the year 1796, American shipping was rapidly increasing in a relatively unencumbered environment. To be sure, ships were still being seized and cargoes confiscated. Still, for the time being, no one would have predicted the coming naval conflict with France or the later, White House burning, war with Great Britain.

The Trade

Providence was one of the East Coast ports to profit from the general prosperity that followed the post-Revolutionary depression. Its success as a maritime center began with the period, continued until the late 1820s, and then declined as the town on the Seekonk was eclipsed first by Boston and later by New York.

Four causes contributed to Providence's rise as a maritime entrepôt. The first was the European conflict which generally opened the West Indies and the Caribbean to American shipping. The second was the town's participation in that trade—profitable not only

4. Robert G. Albion and Jennie Barnes Pope, *Sea-Lanes in Wartime, the American Experience, 1775-1942*, p. 65. (Cited as *Albion and Pope*.)
5. Ibid., pp. 65-80.
6. Ibid., pp. 65-80.

7. Though the primary source is *Albion and Pope*, they cite the limit as 60 tons while several other sources use 70. The Jay Treaty also established a commission to adjudicate claims which eventually awarded more than 12 million dollars to both British and American interests for substantial contraventions.

8. *Albion and Pope*, pp. 69-83. Further, Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1961), p. 174, notes that '. . . the regular quotations of insurance rates to Jamaica, Bahamas . . . , in Boston papers of 1796-97, proves that the trade was going on nevertheless.' Entries in the records of the Providence Custom House also show the existence of this trade.

in and of itself, but because it also helped fund more far-reaching ventures to Europe, China, and India.

Third, Providence had come to replace Newport as the major port between Boston and New York.[9] Newport's fortunes had declined during the Revolution, both because of the British occupation and because of the town's apparent loyalist tendencies. Furthermore, with the increased attention being paid to industrialization and land transport, Providence, by virtue of its location, offered the better opportunities. So, by 1830, Providence had a population twice that of Newport, which, on the eve of the Revolution, could have claimed the same statistic.[10]

Finally, success breeds success. Once the trade with the Southern Hemisphere opened, its continuing returns provided a surging impetus to Providence's maritime prosperity. Though the town was later to enjoy vessels of larger tonnages from a more divergent list of areas, Providence counted eighty-four arrivals from the Caribbean and South America in 1796. That number was never exceeded and, for that matter, was only closely approached by the seventy-three entries from the same area in 1801 and the fifty-six in the tonnage-laden year of 1806.[11]

Providence, as an entire maritime operation, had better years than 1796. But in terms of its trade with the West Indies and farther to the south, it was one of the best.

Out-bound

Unfortunately, the outgoing records for 1796, as well as for other years, are far more incomplete and inconclusive than those for incoming vessels and cargoes, making specific statistics about export cargoes difficult.[12] However, some generalizations are tenable.

Most importantly, the items that Messieurs Brown, Aborn, Carrington, Halsy, Sterry, and the other owners and merchants were exporting to the West Indies fall into two basic categories: items of domestic produce, primarily foodstuffs, and re-export articles, usually gathered from other voyages.

By way of example, we may take the Export Manifest of brigantine *Sukey*, 103 and 66/95ths tons burthen, William Thornton, master, Clark and Nightingale, owners, which cleared for St. Thomas on 5 April 1796.[13]

171 barrels Salted Provisions (Beef and Pork)
8 barrels Pickled Fish
52100 pieces Nankeens
3 bales Brown Linens
2 boxes Irish Linens
14 pipes Wine
65 casks Wine
11 pipes Vinegar
2 bales Raven's Duck
1 bale Writing Paper

Almost every vessel transporting goods from Providence to the Caribbean in 1796 carried the first two items, which, with the possible addition of flour, constituted the backbone of the town's southern trade.[14] The beef and pork were usually purchased in Connecticut or Rhode Island. The fish came, virtually exclusively, from Massachusetts. Were flour shipped, it would have come from the southern ports of Charleston and Savannah, probably on a coastal trader. (For the coastal trading vessel from the south, Providence was a far easier port than Boston, which would require the long, dangerous passage around the outer banks of Cape Cod.)

The other items on *Sukey*'s out-bound manifest belong to the re-export category and represent Providence's role as an exporter of imports, articles which the brigantine's owners and Providence merchants had brought from Canton, France, Russia, Spain, and England, either directly or through any channels necessary to qualify them as 'neutral.'

In addition to the items listed on *Sukey*'s manifest, the vessels that sailed out of Narragansett Bay bound for St. Thomas, St. Croix, 'St. Yago' (Santiago, Cuba), Hispaniola, or Surinam, might carry butter and fat, shoes, hats, candles, potatoes, rice, and lumber, depending on the markets expected—information which was gleaned from arriving captains, crews, and supercargoes, as well as provided by the commercial agents located in major ports. Finally, later on, as the industrial resources of Providence increased, the shipping manifests show the increased exportation of

9. Providence had no unique or indigenous product suitable for the overseas market and throughout its career as a port always acted the role of broker, a storer of items for re-export, having little local market for its imports.

10. *Tanner*, pp. 1-4.

11. Ibid., p. 23.

12. See 'Note on Sources,' at the end of this article.

13. Unless otherwise noted, manifests and shipping records are compiled from the Providence Custom House records in the Rhode Island Historical Society.

14. However, much of exported American flour was destined to feed European armies.

manufactured goods, especially articles of hardware or cloth goods.[15]

One final comment must be included to help clarify the exports of Providence with regard to trade with the Southern Hemisphere. In 1796, Providence ships engaged in no trading with the Spanish or Portuguese mainland empires in the Western Hemisphere—at least according to the official record.

The first reports of Providence contact with Brazil show *Rising States* (classification unknown), Scott Jenckes, master, at Rio de Janeiro on 8 November 1799, ostensibly because the vessel needed supplies. However, free trade as such was not established until 28 January 1808, with King John's decree to that effect just after his arrival from Lisbon.[16]

Further, according to Tanner, '. . . the River Plate was practically unknown to foreign merchant shipping before the end of the eighteenth century . . .' and he records the first breach as accomplished by *John* of Philadelphia in 1798.[17]

While these facts do help to show the limited contact the merchants of Providence had with continental South America, the possibility must be raised that more than one whaler made an unscheduled or clandestine stop somewhere along that extensive coast. And it is hard to believe that all the Providence vessels bound for Canton and the Northwest simply sailed by in blithe ignorance.[18]

In-bound

Fortunately, the import statistics available are far more precise and detailed than those for exports. They indicate a brisk trade with a wide range of ports, some of which dealt in specialized commodities and others that offered a more cosmopolitan selection. If the Providence merchants were somewhat unimaginative with their outgoing cargoes, they and their agents put together a valiant effort to offer not only variety but also quantity by their incoming manifests.

During 1796, Providence admitted eighty-four entries from the Caribbean and South America. Those entries are listed below, by place, with the usual commodities imported therefrom, where discernible.

Entries, by location, from the Caribbean and South America to Providence, 1796

Bahamas (Turk's Island and St. George's) Salt	25
Barbadoes	1
British Guiana (Demerara and Essequibo) Rum, Cotton, Coffee, and Brown Sugar	2
Cayenne Coffee, Cocoa, and Cotton	2
Cuba Molasses and Brown Sugar[19]	3
Curacao Molasses, Brown Sugar, Hides, and Empty Bottles	1
Hispaniola Molasses, Brown Sugar, Coffee, and Cocoa	12
Jamaica Brown Sugar, Coffee, Rum, Pimentoes, Fruits	8
St. Bartholomew Rum	1
St. Croix Brown Sugar, Coffee, Rum	6
St. Marcs	2
St. Thomas Rum, Molasses, Brown Sugar, Fruits, European products, especially alcoholic beverages	7
Surinam Molasses, Brown Sugar, Coffee, Cocoa, Fruits, Cotton, European products, especially alcoholic beverages	14
Total arrivals	84

15. See manifests in the Rhode Island Historical Society and *Tanner*, pp. 38-40.

16. *Tanner*, p. 122. See also, Charles Lyon Chandler, 'List of United States Vessels in Brazil, 1792-1805, inclusive,' *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXXVI, 4 (November 1946), 599-617. American vessels could get in to Brazilian ports by claiming distress or a need for provisions. To what extent this 'loophole' in the Spanish and Portuguese commercial monopolies was used to hide trading is not known.

17. Ibid., p. 127.

18. In later years, Rio de Janeiro and Buenos Aires became favored ports, and knowing about Dana's exploits on the west coast and the positioning of a United States frigate in the area, it may be well to speculate as to the amount of contact above and beyond the official records. Further, a ship would manifest to its major intended port—the place where it expected to do most of its business, even though it might carry supplies for other areas. Thus, a Providence ship could manifest for Canton, but that stated intention could in no way prevent her from stopping almost anywhere along the route, either in- or out-bound, and her Custom House records would show no notation of the sojourn. Finally, Providence never seems to have established much of a trade with the Central American countries, and, by the time of their independence, Providence was on the decline as a port, her trade connections contracting.

19. The records for 1806 include several entries for boxes of 'seegars,' but the records used in this article do not divulge the beginnings of that importation. In the 1820s, *Tanner*, p. 75, notes: 'American tobacco was much cheaper than, for example, Cuban tobacco . . . and did particularly well in Chile.'

When the contents of the entry list is joined with a close examination of the actual manifests, several important considerations emerge. As previously mentioned, the ports that exported goods to Providence fall into two major groups. The first are the ports from which one or two indigenous products are particularly apparent. The most obvious example is the Bahamas entry, which shows that Turk's Island and St. George's provided New England with an essential product (one might even call it a staple)—salt.

Salt could be obtained from Portugal or other parts of Europe, but such voyages would require larger ships and mean far longer and more dangerous passages. Furthermore, in view of the generally good relations with England, the geographically close Bahamas probably represented one of the safer of the Caribbean journeys and also served as a convenient final stop for last-minute provisioning or cargo.

At the other extreme were St. Thomas and Surinam, which each had a wide variety of both local products and European imports to offer the captains and supercargoes. Both areas were made even more attractive by their actual neutrality: Surinam was Dutch; St. Thomas belonged to Denmark. Thus, these two broad classifications will include many of the ports visited by the Providence ships, though for some, the information available prevents accurate descriptions of specific products or tonnages.

It may be noted that neither Jamaica nor St. Croix exported any molasses to Providence, though they did a lively business in the related products of brown sugar and rum. The most likely explanation for this lack is that, especially in the case of Jamaica, the molasses product of these islands was destined for European (read British) markets, to be transported in European (read British) bottoms.

Laveaux's and Toussaint's rebellion in Hispaniola did have an effect on the Providence trade there. It cut the entries from the island almost in half, from twenty-two in 1795, to twelve in 1796.[20] However, that number still left Hispaniola with the third largest number of entries for 1796. The even more drastic reduction did not come until 1798, with the severe curtailments of production that began with the more violent expressions of the slave revolt. The implication in the figures and the timing, nevertheless, is that the trade declined because no supplies were to be had, not because of a fear or hatred of the revolt itself.[21]

Knowing then where the various products are generally coming from, we can examine some of the quantities of the major imports, as well as remark upon several unusual items which appear on the incoming manifests.

Quantities of Major Imports in 1796, from the Caribbean and South America to Providence

Salt	72,000 bushels
Molasses	1,840 hogsheads
	148 terces
	213 barrels
Total equals almost 200,000 gallons	
Annual Averages[22]: 1800-1810 = 197,000 gallons	
1810-1820 = 315,000 gallons	
1820-1830 = 642,000 gallons	
Brown Sugar	303 hogsheads
	6 terces
	411 barrels
	462 boxes
Total equals about 250 tons	
Annual Averages: 1800-1810 = 400 tons	
1810-1820 = 325 tons	
1820-1830 = 425 tons	
Coffee	89 hogsheads
	254 terces
	139 barrels
	2,774 bags
Total equals about 200 tons	
(No Annual Averages available)	
Cocoa	23 hogsheads
	10 terces
	33 barrels
	786 bags
	12 casks
(Weight computations too approximate for accurate assessment.)	

20. *Tanner*, pp. 106-108.

21. Actually, in one instance the revolt may have helped profits. Sloop *Union*, 54 tons, Samuel Davis, master, in-bound from Leoganne, manifested twenty-two passengers with baggage, thirteen of whom embarked on a schooner going into Norfolk with whom they met off the Virginia coast. This is the only instance of recorded passengers for the entire 1796 year, and it is not clear if the transport and transfer represents a usual, but generally unrecorded practice (which is doubtful) or why twenty-two people were somehow quite anxious to leave Hispaniola that November.

22. *Tanner*, pp. 53-57, for the Annual Averages, which were computed from Impost Books, not actual manifests.

Rum	523 puncheons 400 hogsheads
Total equals about 95,000 gallons	
Annual Averages[23]:	1800-1810 = 87,000 gallons 1810-1820 = 52,000 gallons 1820-1830 = 11,000 gallons
Oranges	11,682 loose 3 barrels
Limes	42 barrels
Hides (usually cattle, some seal, horse)	6,602 loose 14 barrels
Old Metals (especially iron, copper, lead)	8,096 pounds 3 barrels 16 'a qty's'
Foreign Wines	434 pipes 22 hogsheads 29 casks 39 bottles
Total equals about 55,000 gallons	

One of the items on this major import list deserves special mention for it points to a definite lack of development of an industry. The importation of 'Old Metals,' often in the form of old anchors or brass kettles indicates that such resources were limited in New England. Further, the presumption that metallurgical knowledge in the West Indies was about the same as in New England would tend to suggest that these old metals are part of an ongoing recycling operation; the materials probably coming from old ships, captured firearms, and used European hardware.

To this list of major items must be added several peculiar ones which lend a flavor to the trade even if little of a definitive nature can be concluded from their inclusion on the manifests. For instance, schooner *Nancy,* arriving in April from Turk's Island, transports a 'bathing machine.' No explanation is offered for the mechanics of this contraption. And, continuing along the boudoir line, *Nancy* also brings in a 'second-hand looking glass,' one of the three that were imported that year. It may be well to note that 'looking-glass' was a contemporary euphemism for a toilet. And while we might expect a used toilet to be less valuable than a new one, we can hardly feel that James Rhodes, master of *Nancy,* would have gone to the trouble to note 'second-hand' if the item in question were simply a mirror.

On almost every ship that arrived in Providence in 1796, there was included some unique item, be it the five elephant's 'teeth' (tusks?) that *Rebecca* brought in in September, or the two barrels of yams that Benjamin Gorton brought with him from St. Croix, or the one box of cinnamon that represented the entire cargo, other than ballast and returned goods, that Josiah Arnold, one would think rather meekly, transported from St. Marcs. The list is almost endless, however—from jars of jellies, to coconuts, to turtles—but each small shipment bears the mark of either a gift, an attempt to create a demand, or at least, an expected profit.

One final category of goods arriving in Providence from the West Indies in 1796 deserves special attention—those items which were classified 'Returned Goods.'[24] Closely related to the number of entries per month, to be discussed presently, these items were those which a captain or agent was unable to sell in the West Indies at a reasonable profit.

Some represented legitimate attempts to meet a suspected demand. Such a group included salted provisions, rice, candles, tar, pitch, and dairy products such as butter and cheese. Others bordered on the ridiculous—a prime example being that of the attempt to sell wool felt hats near the equator.

Some were interesting if only because they must have given rise to the question of why they did not sell. Soap, for example, moved very poorly during 1796, with a total return for the year of fifty-seven boxes.

Finally, *Rebecca,* along with her elephant's teeth, manifested a return cargo of one barrel of handcuffs that she had acquired from *Ann* who was *bound* for Africa. Explanations for this entry are hard to fathom. Was the exchange simply for iron which happened to be in the form of handcuffs? Had *Ann* made use of these handcuffs on previous voyages? Did she give up the handcuffs because she could easily obtain more in Africa, or because she was engaged in other than the slave trade and wanted to dispense with such an incriminating cargo? Since the handcuffs were classified as 'returned goods,' had *Ann* originally transported them from New England in hopes of selling them in

23. *Tanner,* pp. 54-55, notes that the decline in rum imports was not due to any 'incipient prohibitionism,' but was rather caused by the high duties levied on foreign distilled spirits. It soon became cheaper to import molasses and do the distilling in the United States. Note the corresponding rise in molasses imports for the period as rum imports declined.

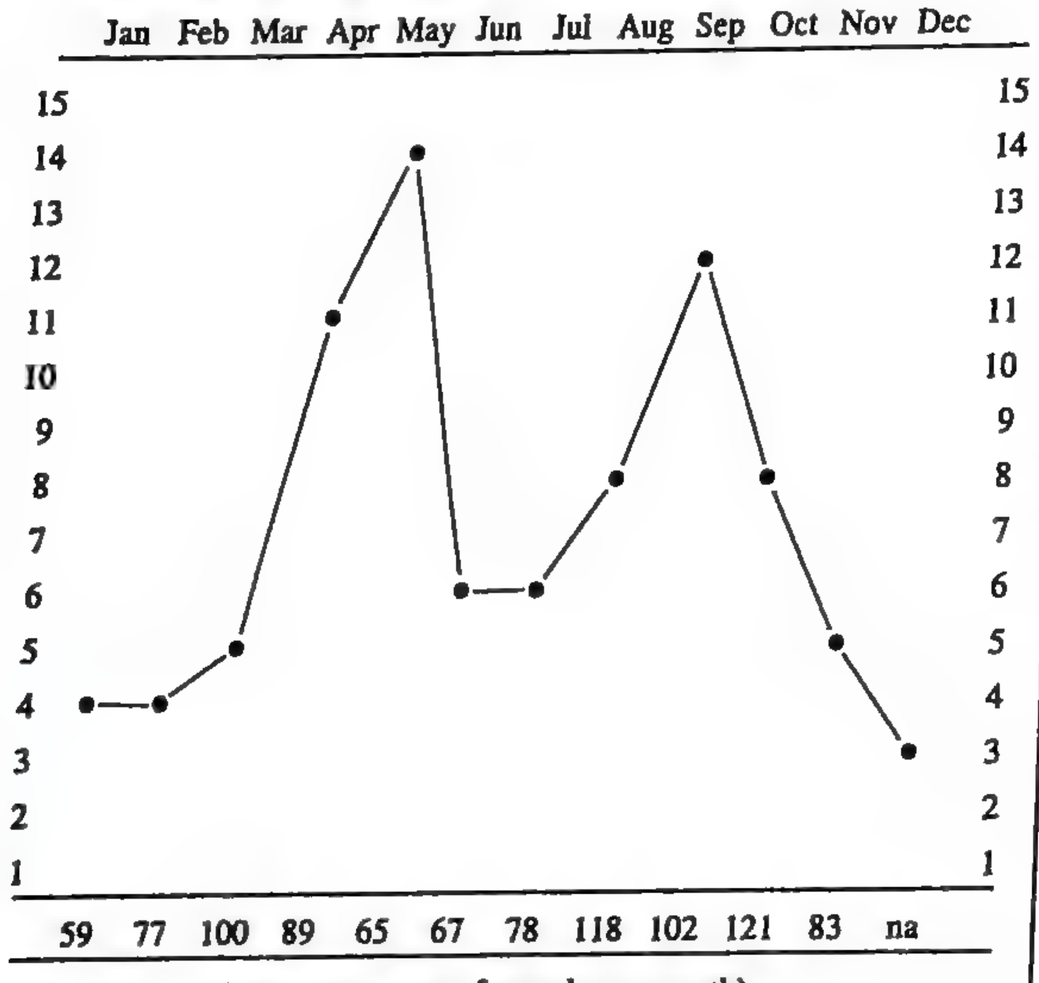
24. Because there is often a discrepancy between what the captain called returned goods and what was actually taxed, it may be assumed that many tried to 'smuggle' some items in under the guise of returned goods.

the West Indies—perhaps after a stop along the African coast? The record does not show, but the speculation is intriguing.

Seasonality

The cargoes coming into Providence, be they for re-export, domestic consumption, or simply returns for lack of market, did not follow a steady pattern. On the contrary, and as might be expected, vast fluctuations existed in the numbers of entries that were recorded each month, changes which are graphically represented below.

Entries per Month at Providence from South America and the Caribbean—1796



(average tonnage of vessels per month)

The inferences available from this chart are that the entries for January, February, and March include those vessels that had headed south the previous autumn, perhaps reluctant to travel because of the inclement New England weather during the winter. The dramatic increase in April and May records the numerous smaller vessels who escaped during the January thaw or in February, or else spent the winter in the Caribbean, to return in the spring. (Generally, the total round-trip time varied between two and four months.)

In late May and early June, many of the ships again headed south in hopes of catching the summer harvests. The surge in September probably reflects the captains' desire to be out of the area during the hurricane season. By October, many had again ventured to the Caribbean, others departed for ports more distant—east to Europe or west to the East Indies and China.

Thus, the voyages have come full circle, from fully laden in Providence to down the coast with a possible stop in Savannah or Charleston for provisions. Arriving in the West Indies about a month later, the Providence captains exchanged cargoes and reloaded with molasses from Surinam, coffee from Curacao, rum from St. Croix, brown sugar from Havana, fruits from Jamaica, and some European wines from St. Thomas. On their way north, they might stop in the Bahamas to top off their loads with several bushels of salt. Then, they would head north for Providence, arriving there, with luck, two or three weeks later.

Note on Sources

The primary sources of the information in this article are the Shipping Manifests, both in-bound and out-bound, and the Custom House entry and departure records for 1796 that related to trade between Providence and the Caribbean and South America. These Custom House papers are stored in the library of the Rhode Island Historical Society in Providence, and are part of a collection that extends from 1790 to 1855.

The following reports were specifically helpful (here using hypothetical names for ships, ports, masters, and owners):

1) *Report of Merchandise Intended to be Exported* on board the Ship *Peabody Museum*, 69 and 21/95ths Ton Burthen, Peter Fetchko, master, by Lewis and Loring, bound from Providence for St. Croix, date. This was prepared by the owners or the captain and presented to customs officials (in 1796, George Olney was the Chief Inspector) who then prepared an
2) *Entry of Merchandise Intended to be Exported* on board the Ship *Peabody Museum*, 69 and 21/95ths Tons Burthen, Peter Fetchko, master, by Loring and Lewis, bound from Providence for St. Croix, date. This was the official document, based upon returns by various measurers. Then, having determined the value of the cargo, the customs officers made up a
3) *Bond* ('Know ye all men by these . . . .') which the owners or consignees were required to post.

The principal concern of the customs officials in requiring these documents was that on inter-United States control. A ship was not limited to her final port simply by the notations on her manifest. However, her owners would forfeit their bond should the ship be discovered landing the goods within the United States instead of at the foreign port, or

thereabouts, for which she had manifested. This imprecision is one of the reasons export figures are so difficult to determine accurately.

At St. Croix, to continue with this example, Captain Fetchko and his mate would attempt to get a consular agent or some responsible person to draw up a deposition that all three would sign and date. It would state that yes, in fact, such-and-such a cargo from *Peabody Museum* was duly unladen at this port from date to date, etc. The purpose of this document was to secure the redemption of the bond once the ship arrived back in Providence.

(Unfortunately, most of the outgoing records are classified by the date of their cancelled bonds. Thus, a ship whose trading actually occurred in 1796 might not cancel her bond until 1797. Because of that cancellation date, all that ship's records relating to that bond would be filed under 1797, not 1796. This is another reason why export statistics are difficult to state precisely.)

On the importation side are the following primary documents:

1) *Report and Manifest of Merchandise Intended for Import* by Messieurs Reed and Brown on board the Schooner *American Jupiter,* 98 and 45/95ths Tons Burthen, R. G. Albion, master, bound from St. Yago, Cuba, being the last Port where laden, date. This was filled out by the captain prior to departure or while at sea and usually represented a chronological list of the articles on board with notations as to where they were laden and to whom they were consigned. These R and M's are the most valuable of the documents for it is here that we find the unique notations of Returned Goods, numbers of passengers, quantities of Ship's Stores, the exchanges of cargoes at sea, and even the deaths of crew members.

Upon arrival in Providence, and after proper measurements, the customs officials would make up an

2) *Entry of Merchandise Imported* by Messieurs Reed and Brown on board the Schooner *American Jupiter,* 98 and 45/95ths tons Burthen, R. G. Albion, master, bound from St. Yago, Cuba, being the last Port where laden, date. This was the 'official' record and included charges assessed by customs.

The differences between the R and M's and the official Entries provide insights into the trade, and an accurate picture thereof cannot be obtained without examining both.

As the relations with England became strained, principally because of the impressment of American sailors, later vessels began to carry a List of Seamen and a Proclamation by the President—in four languages—in order to protect the Americans.

Further Custom House records include the accounting books, the ship registration books, and the Impost Books, along with other bureaucratic necessities. It must be noted here that though the Impost Books are valuable summations of a year's business, they are compiled from the Entries and thus do not represent a full picture of the trading done.

Approaching a subject from this official record angle has several limitations, the most important of which is that it presumes a respect for the law which probably belies the full truth of the actual situation. Somewhere in these Custom House papers is the story of how to lie to the government. As with most illegal activities, the participants in 1796 were most likely loathe to advertise their crimes. Thus, because this article relies primarily on the official record, it must be read with that knowledge in mind. The figures are reasonable and fairly accurate, but they cannot hope to tell the entire story.

For those interested in the later trade from Providence to South America, some of the Ship's Logs either in the Rhode Island Historical Society or the Providence Public Library should be consulted. See especially, 'The Log of the *Mercury,*' which made a trip to deliver arms to San Martin in 1822.

Further, the various papers of Providence families can provide some notations about their involvement in the trade with Latin America, though these too pertain to the post-1800 period. See especially:

The Nightingale Papers

The Jenckes Papers—(E. T. Jenckes was a nephew of Samuel Nightingale and spent some time as a resident on the west coast of South America.)

The Carrington Papers—(Carrington sent *Mercury* to San Martin.)

Finally, the Rhode Island Historical Society has a *Commercial Notebook,* author unknown, which attempts to describe the commercial climate in various, large, South American cities, one of which is Rio de Janeiro. It contains cryptic comments on how to bribe customs officials as well as what products and prices might be expected. The Rhode Island Historical Society has dated the work between 1798 and 1810.

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Seth O. Reed, graduate of Brown University, is a management, training, and communications consultant in Ipswich, Massachusetts.

'Boston': Two 'New' Texts of an Old Favorite Sea Song

By Stuart M. Frank

From Boston harbour we set sail,
When it was blowing a devil of a gale,
With our ring-tail set all abaft the mizzen peak,
And our Rule Britannia ploughing up the deep.
With a big Bow-wow!
Tow-row-row!
Fal de ral do ri do day![1]

ONE of the best and best-known sailor-crafted songs from deepwater days is a powerfully salty narrative of sea storms, bucko captains, and sailors' vituperation commonly known as 'Boston.' Whatever may have been its popularity on shipboard in the Age of Sail, it is much honored and often sung today as a gusty example of the sailormen's genre, to a tune that lends itself handsomely to pub-singing with four-part harmonies on the choruses. It has become a cornerstone of the sea-song-singers' liturgy and is sung in staid museum galleries, dank saloons, and on the concert stage in every English-speaking quarter of the terraqueous globe.

Oddly, unlike most kindred species of 'really good' sea songs, 'Boston' is known in only one text, originally collected and published by Capt. W. B. Whall, an Englishman, in 1910.[2] Ordinarily, deepwater songs that achieved a certain popularity on shipboard would be passed around from hand to hand and from ship to ship. Through years, even generations of circulation, they might be casually adapted, deliberately altered, inadvertently changed. A good song like 'The True British Sailor,' for political and chauvinistic reasons unpalatable as such to an American seaman, would become 'The True Yankee Sailor.' An American ditty celebrating the victory of the U.S. frigate *Constitution* over H.M.S. *Guerriere* in 1812, would become 'The *Shannon* and the *Chesapeake*,' an English adaptation which uses the same tune, narrative structure, and refrain to celebrate a subsequent British naval victory—in direct answer to the Yankee prototype and by way of vindication of the Royal Navy. Some narrative ballads celebrate the virtues of a particular vessel, like the New York-Liverpool packet *Dreadnaught* or the Cape Horner *Dom Pedro*, but survive in different versions by the British and American seamen who served in them. Chanteys (shipboard worksongs) are notorious for their easy adaptability, and chanteying was largely an improvisational art. So, too, many of the leisure-time songs sung in off hours, where the names of ships, ports, and shipmates were readily substituted to make a song relevant to the immediate situation at hand, often with verses added or altered to accommodate and give voice to the circumstances of a particular voyage or episode. By the time collectors and folklorists entered the field, in the 1880s, most of the songs that had achieved any kind of popularity among sailors survived in several versions; each of these might be interesting in itself, but also the differences among them are documents of life on shipboard and barometers of the political, economic, and sociological fortunes of deepwater sail.

Thus, it is extraordinary that 'Boston'—which Captain Whall maintains 'goes with a good swing, and was very popular between the years of 1860 and 1870'[3]—has heretofore been discovered in only the one version. It is also something of a disappointment to Americans that, though this one version be set in a Yankee port, it is unequivocally a British rendition (as the quotation above amply demonstrates).

Whall's version of 'Boston' was first published in his landmark anthology, *Ships, Sea Songs and Shanties* (Glasgow, 1910), subsequently reissued in slightly expanded and revised forms as *Sea Songs, Ships and Shanties* (1913) and *Sea Songs and Shanties* (1927), under which title it is still in print.[4] Despite earlier attempts to anthologize genuine sailor songs (as

1. 'Boston,' quoted from W. B. Whall, *Sea Songs and Shanties* (Glasgow: Brown, Son & Ferguson, [1910] 1927, reprinted 1963), pp. 148-49.
2. Ibid.; see fn. 4.
3. Ibid., p. 147.
4. All editions published by Brown, Son & Ferguson, Glasgow. The 1913 'Second Edition' and 1927 'Sixth Edition' are true editions, partially revised and repaginated from earlier forms; the latter was reprinted verbatim in 1948 and 1963, in which form it remains in print today.

opposed to parlor-songs composed by armchair romantics)—by Davis & Tozer (1887), Laura Alexandrine Smith (1888), and a few naval anthologists[5]—Whall's was really the first authoritative collection drawn from knowledgeable, firsthand experience at sea. Nevertheless, he says of this song that its origin is 'unknown to me' and 'I have never met with it [at sea].' An exhaustive survey of the literature[6] reveals that he is almost certainly correct in his assertion that the song 'is evidently the work of a seaman and has, probably, never before appeared in print.' The song appears in many of the most important sea-song anthologies subsequent to Whall's, but in all cases the text and tune are extracted directly from Whall, usually with due acknowledgment.[7]

Nor has anyone, including Whall himself, delved into the history and provenance of 'Boston,' of which the structure, chorus, and tune are quite evidently derived, in varying degrees, from a British comic ditty called 'Bow, Wow, Wow,' which was popular in music halls on both sides of the Atlantic in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. 'Bow, Wow, Wow' was one of several text-and-tune combinations that supplied musical comics and parodists with the building blocks of caricature, and many songs are derived from it.[8] When the great parlor-song and minstrelsy avalanche of the 1830s, '40s, and '50s produced the likes of Henry Russell, Tom Rice, Stephen Foster, Dan Emmett, and many others, the former glory of most of the older songs faded to oblivion, supplanted, then buried, by an enormous new repertory. Only a few (like 'Anacreon in Heav'n,' to which 'The Star Spangled Banner' had been set in 1814) were to survive. The probable derivation of 'Boston' from 'Bow, Wow, Wow' suggests the rather early vintage of 'Boston,' with a provenance dating back perhaps as far as Napoleonic times.

No text has yet emerged which demonstrably dates from so early a period. Unfortunately, Whall provides no information about his version, where or from whom he obtained it, except that he 'never met with it' himself; thus, there is little by which to date it except to take him at his word, that he had some good reason for believing 'Boston' to have been popular among sailors in the 1860s.

Two texts found in the Kendall Whaling Museum manuscript collection as transcriptions in shipboard whaling journals, here published for the first time, not only tend to corroborate Whall's claims for the vintage and popularity of the song, but add two remarkable American versions to a literature heretofore inhabited only by Whall's one, weaker version. The earlier of these is as explicit in its condemnation of the bucko captain as any song or poem yet retrieved from the nineteenth-century maritime trades, and is, to boot, a curiously interesting phonetic adaptation of New Englandese sailor lingo and blubber-hunter syntax. The second, a milder version, is perhaps typical of the song in its more generic form. Interestingly, Boston is not mentioned in either version.

The more colorful text was transcribed by seamen George Jones of Milford, New Hampshire, and Albert F. Handy, of Binghampton, New York, both in their early twenties and on their first whaling voyage as shipmates in the bark *Waverly* of New Bedford during 1859-1863, under Capt. William H. Vinal. It is one of twenty-eight song texts written into their journal-copybook, in which shipmate George E. Sanborn, of Lowell, Massachusetts, also participated as diarist and scribe. The esoteric spelling is not only typical of whalemen's semiliterate phoneticism, but also seems in a few cases to exemplify pronunciation in a Yankee drawl; the salty epithets, while perhaps typical of such songs when sung in unmixed company, are by no means typical of songs transcribed in shipboard

5. Frederick J.Davis and Ferris Tozer, *Sailor Songs or 'Chanties'* (London: Boosey & Co., 'Third Edition,' n.d. [1887]); Laura Alexandrine Smith, *Music of the Waters* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1888; repr. Detroit: Singing Tree, 1969); and, e.g., R.-Adm. S. B. Luce, *Navy Songs* (New York: W. A. Pond & Co., 1883 [repr. in several editions, 1889-1905]). There were also several anthologies of texts without tunes, some of them gleaned in part from folkloric sources and firsthand experience at sea, notably by Cecil J. Sharp, John Masefield, Charles Frothingham, and John Ashton.

6. Conducted in connection with research for the book by this author, *Ballads and Songs of the Whale-Hunters, 1825-1895, from Manuscripts in the Kendall Whaling Museum*, now in preparation for publication in 1986.

7. E.g., Joanna C. Colcord, *Songs of American Sailormen* (New York: W.W. Norton, & Co., 1938 [revised and expanded from *Roll and Go*, Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1924]), p. 168; Frederick Pease Harlow, *Chanteying Aboard American Ships* (Barre: Barre Press [The Barre Gazette], 1962), p. 155; and The Trident Society, *The Book of Navy Songs* (Annapolis: U.S. Naval Institute; and Garden City: Doubleday, Page & Co., [1926] 1939), p. 66.

8. There are several such adaptations in *The Universal Songster*, 3 vols. (London: George Routledge & Sons, n.d. [circa 1825-1830]), passim, 'to the air "Bow, Wow, Wow,"' and the tune (in various forms) has been long in tradition. Compare Peter Kennedy, *Folksongs of Britain and Ireland* (New York: Schirmer, 1975), no. 354 (notes on p. 810), a version from Sussex, with the tunes given by Whall and by William Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time*, 2 vols. (London: Cramer, Beale & Chappell, 1858-1859), vol. I, p. 717, 'The Barking Barber'; cited by Kennedy (op. cit., p. 810), viz: '*The Barking Barber:* tune usually known as *Bow Wow Wow* used for political lampoons such as *Guy Fawkes Song*' (qq.v. in Edmondstoune Duncan, *The Minstrelsy of England*, 3 vols. [London: Augener, n.d. (1905)], vol. II).

diaries, which might fall into the hands of—and in many cases were intended for—loved ones ashore, notably mothers and maiden aunts and girls-next-door. In fact, among some five hundred song texts surveyed in the Kendall Whaling Museum collection, this is the only one to employ industrial-strength language (and only one other utilizes explicit carnal *double entendre*).

Twas on the 21 of May

1. 'Twas on the twenty first of May
   We crossed our Royal yards all three
   Withe our colours flying at the main peak
   For a rattling breeze makes the old ship squeak

Chorus: To my rite foddle rol
To my fol de rol
ri diddle lol de day

2. But soon a squall came rising on
   And struck us on our quarter
   Hand down your stunsails alow and aloft
   Clew up your togalent and rialls for and aft[9]

3. Hawl down your jibs and ease them in
   And see all clear for a gale of wind
   Hawl down your jibs and ease them in
   And now for to pissle[10] us the bugger[11] does begin

4. Brace Square in your yard and brace in your spanker
   Place an abel seaman on the poop
   Clap your roling tacles too
   That your yards shal not zigzag to and fro

5. Its down in the cabin the old buger goes
   And on his belley he lays low
   Come Steward mix me a brandy hot
   Its far better wether below than aloft[12]

6. While we poor sailors walk the deck
   With the wind and the rain a beating down our necks
   Not a drop of grog can the old buger aford[13]
   But curse and dam our eyes every word

7. May god almighty god dam such a hog
   He looks upon a sailor as he would upon a dog
   God dam such a man with a generation curse
   The humbug son of a bitch that made him sciper firs[14]

8. Thairs one more thing of the old buger I pray
   That he may never have the [h]onor of a grave
   May he never have the honor the bells for to toll
   May the Sharks take his body and the devil take his soul

Apart from the light it sheds regarding the low esteem in which the seaman-narrator holds his captain in this instance, perhaps the most interesting feature of this text is the use of the term 'pissle' (*pizzle*). To put it as delicately as possible, in general-usage slang *pizzle* connotes the external manifestation of the male reproductive organs, especially of domestic animals, and, hence, its vulgar application to the human male member.[15] In whalemen's usage, it usually refers specifically to the penis of a whale, from which a soft and durable skin is obtained that was used to patch clothing and muffle oars (to silence the whaleboats when approaching whales on the grounds).[16]

A milder text, which nonetheless expresses many of the same sentiments, was transcribed by George Wilbur Piper of Concord, New Hampshire, also in his early twenties, while a seaman in the whaleship *Europa* of Edgartown, Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts, Capt. Thomas Mellen, during 1868-1870. Again, the text differs in many particulars from the Whall and Jones & Handy versions, but is more like the latter than the former and is probably a good representation of the song as it was known to American sailors in the period Whall claims was its heyday.

Sailor's Song

1. O the very first voyage I went to sea
   Top gallant yards I crossed all three
   With the colors flying at our mizen peak
   And a rattling breeze made the old ship creak

9. That is 'topgallant' and 'royal' sails, here rendered by Jones & Handy as pronounced in New England sailorese.

10. *Pizzle:* q.v. below (text and fn. 16).

11. *Bugger:* The word has several favorable, neutral, and pejorative connotations, ranging from 'good fellow' to 'bastard' and the implication of sodomy. The context here strongly suggests an uncomplimentary portrait. See Eric Partridge, *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (New York: Macmillan, 1961), p. 103.

12. That is, the captain retreats belowdecks, out of the bad weather, and relaxes over a glass of hot brandy.

13. It was sometimes customary to issue a ration of brandy or grog to all hands in foul weather, or as a reward for hard work in battle, cutting-in a whale or (as here) battening down and converting to storm gear. This may be the case in the ensuing version of the song, below.

14. That is, '. . . that made him skipper in the first place.'

15. See Eric Partridge, op. cit., p. 637.

16. 'Before the largest bull whale carcass was cut adrift, its pizzle was severed at the base and hoisted to the deck, where it became the object of much noisy and ribald admiration. The purpose was quite serious, however, for Victor skinned it and immediately frapped and laced straps of the black, shiny hide onto several oarlocks. Whaleboat oarlocks always need muffling. The usual method is to braid thole mats from cordage, but black rawhide of the sort mentioned shrinks on the steel as it dries, making a smooth and long-enduring silencer for the loom of an oar' (Robert Cushman Murphy, *Logbook for Grace: Whaling brig* Daisy *1912-13* [New York: Macmillan, 1947], p. 270).

Chorus: Singing Fal de dal de di do
Fal de dal de day

2. Now our breakfast has come down
There are empty kids[17] a lying all around
One kicks them here and another kicks them there
Saying blame the old cook for a leaving of them there

3. Now our breakfast is all done
Turn to your duty boys every one
Some to the gaskets and others to the points[18]
While its curse the old ship for limbs and joints

4. A squall, a squall is now coming on
Along the weather quarter boys all along
Take in your studding sails below and aloft
Clew up your top gallant sails fore and aft

5. Now our Captain came on deck
And loudly calls for his boy Jack
Saying fill us up a bumper[19] with a full and hearty glass
For its far better weather below than aloft

6. Now it is cursed and hanged be the great old fool
That first invented studding sail booms
May he be hanged and his generation cursed
O the hum bugging rascal that invented of them first

7. There is one more thing that I do crave
That he may meet with a watery grave
No bells for to ring no bells for to toll
May the sharks take his body and the devil take his soul

Obviously, the distinctive feature of the Piper text is its redirection of the seamen's ire. In the Jones & Handy rendition, hardships unnecessarily inflicted on the crew earn a heartless, self-serving rogue a 'generation curse' (that is, an Old World style hex that is intended to descend through the progeny of the accursed to affect ensuing generations, on the scriptural models of Cain, Esau, Ishmael and Ahab, and after the ample prototypes in Greek mythology). In the Piper version, the captain is treated genially and the object of the curse becomes the inventor of the studding-sail boom—that long yardarm extension that slides out athwartships aloft, to which *studding sails* are 'bent' (rigged) for 'jamming canvas' in light weather (in a manner analogous to the use of the spinnaker in modern pleasurecraft). This is a hazard and a hardship inflicted upon sailors not by an irresponsible officer, known to the sailors 'in the flesh,' but by an 'improved' technology, quintessentially impersonal. The curse itself is also transformed, from a brooding hex that descends from gothic blood-cults and is directed at a particular individual—in this case an actual sea-captain, shirking his duty and relaxing belowdecks—to a generic condemnation of some inventor, whomever he may be, *and his entire generation,* known to sailors only in the abstract, in terms of some hardship perpetrated from afar.

The transformation from a 'generation curse' to 'his generation cursed' may be nothing more than the unconscious result of oral transmission, of the sort one encounters in the popular parlor game of 'Telephone'; if it signifies anything more, it likely does so only subliminally. It would doubtless be pushing things too far here seriously to suggest analogies between this whalemen's 'art' and the high art of Attic drama, as similarly construed barometers of cultural evolution—that is, to argue for artistic parallels between the mechanization of the American maritime in the Industrial Revolution and the transformation of ancient Greek culture, from the tribal vendettas epitomized in the *Iliad* to the emergence of civil jurisprudence in the *polis* epitomized in the ascendency of Athena over Mars, Diana, and Apollo, and dramatized in the plays of Aeschylus. However, to the perhaps lesser degree to which these sailors' songs are art, and as such potentially insightful about the milieux that produced them and the men and women who sang them, there is at least a sense in which such an analogy is relevant. To compare Jones and Handy's Old World 'generation curse' leveled against a bucko captain with Piper's 'accursed generation' of inventors and technologists, is to contrast the recognition of an evil readily and immediately at hand, an evil visibly culpable, with an evil that is anonymous, impersonal, even unintentional and well-meaning. Despite that the invention of studding-sail booms was quintessentially impersonal (and the inventor presumably bore the mariner no ill will nor meant him any harm), the sailor becomes the hapless and unwitting victim, and even the captain, the 'nabob of the afterdeck,' can exercise no real control. In an era of surging industrialization which would transform America from an agrarian Garden to an urban-manufacturing complex of iron rails and smoking furnaces, and which would ultimately supplant

17. *Kid:* the (usually tin) platter or deep-dish in which the sailors' rations of salt-beef are generally served, on whaleships, in the navy, and in the merchant service.

18. These are storm preparations, furling and reefing sail, preludes to the ensuing verses concerning taking-in studding sails.

19. *Bumper:* 'A full glass: from ca. 1660' (Partridge, op. cit., p. 108).

even these ships and these men with mechanized, coal-fired improvements—as an ironic byproduct rendering sailor-songs obsolete and extinct—this would seem to be more than merely a fortuitous slip of language or innocent error of transmission. Rather, it would seem to be symptomatic of a change of vision, from Nature to Technology—a change of vision which Eugene O'Neill also epitomizes as the transition from sail to steam, which he symbolizes in the obsolescence of chanteys and sailor songs[20]—and to betoken the erosion of an earlier and, in romantic terms, simpler incarnation of American civilization of which these songs are but remnants and mementos.

20. Notably in *The Hairy Ape*, wherein the men dispute who is real sailor enough to sing chanteys in a grimy sailor-world now dominated by steam; and in *Mourning Becomes Electra* (based on the Orestes Cycle of Aeschylus), in which a Chanteyman functions as a kind of latter-day Greek chorus.

Stuart M. Frank is director of the Kendall Whaling Museum in Sharon, Massachusetts, and vice president of the Council of American Maritime Museums. Frank received his B.A. from Wesleyan University, M.A. from Yale University, diplomas in maritime history and maritime studies from the Munson Institute of American Maritime Studies, and M.A. and Ph.D. in American civilization from Brown University. As research associate at Mystic Seaport Museum, he originated the sea music interpretation program, the annual Sea Music Festival and Symposium, and the postgraduate Summer Museum Internship Program. Frank has taught literature in the Williams College Program in American Maritime Studies, Brown University, the Sea Education Association, and the Munson Institute. In addition to papers, articles and chapters on maritime studies and whaling history, he has made several recordings of traditional sea music. Frank is also the author of Ballads and Songs of the Whale-Hunters, *currently in preparation for publication in 1986.*

'It Was A Noble Calling . . .'

By Helen M. Hill

WHEN I was at Mrs. Luther Hatch's (or Abigail Hatch's) the day we called there, Daniel drew my attention to the window from which we used to look out upon the ocean nearby,—away back in the '40's and '50's,—upon fleets of gallant ships bound out and in, and passing the glass to me, told me to look at the vessels now passing. There were two large ships with lower masts standing, and fore and aft sails set, in tow of steam tugs. He said they were coal barges, that the great packetships etc. which so grandly towered above the wharves in our great cities, and covered the Atlantic Ocean from shore to shore, are now dismantled, and towed to and fro as coal barges. This is doubtless mainly due to the protective tariff and the '*Trusts*' so called, but none but those who have been identified with ships, handling them, and homing on board them, can realize the sadness of such a spectacle. It gives us old 'shellbacks[']' the heartache to look upon their disgrace, for a sailor *loves* a good ship next to the flag which floats over them. It was a noble calling, and scientific handling of a ship[,] keeping her in order etc, in fact all which was included in seamanship, required brains, practice, and valor.*

Capt. Edward Baker
October 22, 1888

When Edward Baker looked out the Hatches' window in 'Littletown' (now known as East Marshfield) it had been twenty-three years since he had left the sea to go back to the farm from which he came; but he had spent the thirteen years from 1848 to 1861 in square-rigged merchant vessels, and the four years of the Civil War in the Union navy. He went to sea at the height of the sailing era, just as the big clippers, already doomed by steam, were being launched. (He sailed on his first voyage, as a 'boy' or greenhand, in the ship *Howland*,[1] on 1 January 1848, the same day on which the steamer, *Hibernia*,[2] sailed from Boston to New York to begin the maiden voyage of Cunard's newly inaugurated steamship line between New York and Liverpool.) From then until the beginning of the Civil War he sailed in all directions across the Atlantic: to South America and the Cape of Good Hope; to Labrador and Greenland, England, and Scotland; to the Mediterranean, the Baltic, and the White Sea. He also sailed around Cape Horn to California and home by way of Manila, the China Sea, and the Indian Ocean. He was ambitious enough to become master of a vessel when he was twenty-four and he owned shares in the vessel of which he was master when he was twenty-six. At thirty his career in square-riggers was dead.

Edward was born in Duxbury, Massachusetts, in 1831, the son of Daniel and Zeruiah Walker Baker, and grew up there on his father's farm with an older brother Daniel, a younger brother Levi, both of whom also went to sea, and an older sister Adeline. When he was fourteen, he started to keep a journal and, except for a decade in the seventies, when he was keeping store in Duxbury, he continued to keep one until two weeks before he died in 1895. The early journals, except for occasional qualms of conscience about boyish misdeeds, are full of objective reporting about village life: the work on his father's and neighbors' farms where he 'wrought' during the summers, the applebees and kissing parties and courtships, the melancholy deaths of young friends, the visits with his friends at the store at the 'Corners.' When he went to sea, he took his journal with him, and whether he slept in the forecastle or the cabin, he rarely missed a day with his companion in loneliness, his confidant. In the early maritime journals, he is still most often the observer, keenly interested in the people around him and the events of the day; but as he grew older, he became more reflective, more introspective, more religious. He sometimes thought of his journal then as his 'old safety valve,' and a great comfort when he needed to let off steam.

*All words in parentheses in the excerpts from the journals are Baker's. Italicized words in parentheses are comments Baker made when he reread his journal on a later voyage. Words or punctuation marks within square brackets are mine.

There are two misspellings which are Baker's: *satelites* and *inseperable*. *Capstern* perhaps speaks for itself.

The only silent correction I have made is in the account of the wreck of *Amanda* published in the *Advertiser*. The *Advertiser* account says 'ran out, reckoning . . . ,' but I think it should be 'ran our reckoning up to Boston Light' as it is in the journal entry for 5 February 1854. They did not run out of the bay and in again.

Edward Baker (1831-1895). This picture must have been taken during the Civil War.

As a seaman he took hard work for granted. As an officer he expected others to be 'active,' meaning I think, not only energetic, but smart and self-reliant, alert and skillful when needed. He had little patience with bumblers. Courage is something he took for granted, too. It was only late in life that he reflected on the need for 'brains, practice, and valor.' That need was constant, but never more crucial, of course, than in times of danger, when survival depended on them. In his thirteen years in the merchant service, Edward Baker weathered many a gale. Most storms were just another part of the day's or night's or week's work, but many were filled with drama and his accounts of some of them are exciting. Once he was shipwrecked; twice he came close. The differences in the accounts of these three adventures are the differences between innocence and experience, between youth and age, as well as some real differences in the amount of danger. At the time of the first he was an 'active' young man of eighteen; at the last, a seasoned old man of twenty-eight, who along the way had come to rely on more than his own 'brains, practice, and valor.'

His first experience of shipwreck, if it can be called that, was for him just an adventure and a challenge. In his two and a half years' experience at sea, nothing like this had ever happened. He had made a couple of coastal voyages from Boston to Charleston, South Carolina, in the ship *Howland;* one in the ship *Akbar*[3] to Mobile and Liverpool; and another in the brig *Smyrna*[4] to Rio and Cape Town. There had been storms, but no shipwrecks. In May of 1850 he sailed for Liverpool again, this time on the packet ship *Anglo-American*[5] with Capt. George Winsor of Duxbury as master. An experienced seaman now, he had all the confidence of the young before they have discovered that they are not immortal.

Anglo-American, built by Donald McKay in 1847, and launched in 1848, was one of Enoch Train's packet ships which sailed on a regular schedule twice a month between Boston and Liverpool, carrying cotton and other goods to England and bringing back hundreds of Irish emigrants. After unloading their cargo in Liverpool, the seamen fitted the space between decks with bunks for a load of emigrants, most of them Irish peasants who were fleeing from the poverty caused by the potato famine which began in 1844-1845. Though a good crop was being forecast for 1850, streams of emigrants still flooded Liverpool and poured onto the vessels in the harbor with their bags and bundles and babies ('A miserable set,' Baker called them), chancing a crowded voyage across the Atlantic in the ''tween decks' in the hope that life would be better on the other shore. Also on board were about twenty-five first and second class passengers, including the captain's wife.

Anglo-American was cleared on the twentieth, her scheduled sailing date, but it was two o'clock in the morning of the twenty-second before the crew had the anchors on the bows and the tugboat fast to the ship to lead her out of the Mersey into the Irish Sea. Captain Winsor was taking the northern route home, sailing out of the Irish Sea past the Isle of Man and through the North Channel that separates Scotland and Ireland. There the long peninsula of Kintyre stretches down into the channel from the north, with its mull or headland opposite what is now called Fair Head on the Irish coast. Just beyond Fair Head, off Ballycastle,

Anglo-American, ship built 1848 at East Boston.

lies Rathlin Island, like an arm bent at the elbow, with the elbow jutting out northeastward toward Scotland and the hand and forearm pointing west toward America. It was not uncommon for vessels to run aground there, and not infrequently they were wrecked. Two days after leaving Liverpool, *Anglo-American* ran aground on Rathlin Island. When she struck, there was no lack of courage among the officers and crew, nor on Mrs. Winsor's part either, but some of the passengers were, not unreasonably, alarmed.

Edward thought he had made his entry for that day when he wrote in his journal during the morning watch, but before the day was over, he had much more to tell.

June 24th Mon. . . . Eve. This morning I thought I had nothing to note of importance but the day has proved quite an eventful one. At noon or just *after* eight bells, Tom who was on the lookout it being very foggy called out 'Land ho! right ahead, hard up your helm.' The captain instead of heaving up the wheel, (or rather it was the fault of the man at the wheel who is a Greek, and not understanding English hove the wheel the wrong way[)] and ere we were aware of it we were hard and fast on Rathlin island, among the rocks, the bluff & rock bound coast rising before us at the distance of about twenty yards. Then such a hubbub as there was among the women passengers! 'Sailors shall we be saved' and such expressions greeted us on every side if we would only stop to listen to them. Mrs. Winsor stepped out immediately and with the utmost presence of mind (*?*) took hold of the wheel but the captain told her she could be no help then, so she stepped into the wheel-house. The captain then went forward (he was perfectly cool & collected in a few moments after she struck) upon the break of the poop and spoke to the passengers ordering them below. They took no notice of him however and said he 'if you will not go below I'll fire upon you and make you.' He then ordered a bucket of fresh water in each quarter boat, an empty bucket for bailing, and then we lowered away, four hands then got into each boat and after getting a warp in were ready for operation. Some shore boats were off by this time, and the

captain offered to pay them if such a thing could be done. We then got up the kedge anchor bent on a large hawser and hanging it astern of the boat coiled down on the standing part as long as the boat would bear it and then pulled away, till we payed out all the hawser and then dropped the anchor and came on board and taking it to the capstern hove away, till it was taut and then went to get some dinner as it was low water by that time it being nearly that when we went on. We found she had started her fore-foot, and they picked up several pieces of her false keel. About 3½ o clock we loosed the main top-gallant-sail (laid all the yards flat aback when she first struck[)] but the wind hauled and at this time was blowing directly off shore, so we squared the yards in a little without filling them.

By this time a large crowd were gathered on the shore, of all kinds large and small, well dressed and ragged, civilized and wild almost I should say, and a boat came alongside with a priest on board which one of the 'uncompressed "micks" ' seeing exclaimed 'there's no danger now for the priest is coming,' but *Mr. Priest* did not come on board, for a prohibition was passed to that effect; but a number of the 'pealers or police men were sent on board with an officer to keep them from coming from the shore. They are a queer looking set of officers with their old tight jackets the bottoms of which just reach their pants which come nearly to their armpits. We began to have quite an idea of seeing Ireland and going through it, but as the water rose, we kept heaving gradually and putting more sail on her, we at length forced her off. Had it not been just as light a breeze as it was or had she happened to strike one of the many rocks with which the coast is lined I think she would have laid her bones, where many as good a ship has before. Had the wind not hauled the way it did, and commenced blowing freshly from seaward, (*across the island*) it would have been a clew-up for the bully Anglo-A——, I think, but as it is she sustained but little damage, not leaking at all now. It is a very rough and rocky, island, as far inland as one can see from the royal yard, but very fertile, and some of the finest potatoes I ever saw are growing on it. There was great rejoicing among the passengers after we got off. They had got the bagpipes and a large keg of whiskey, down to the shore before we got off, and were dancing, when we lost sight of them, ere we left though they gave us three cheers which were heartily returned by us. We could not get supper till 8 o clock, and I only slept about half an hour during the first watch. (*A brig went shore, which got off before us.*)

* * *

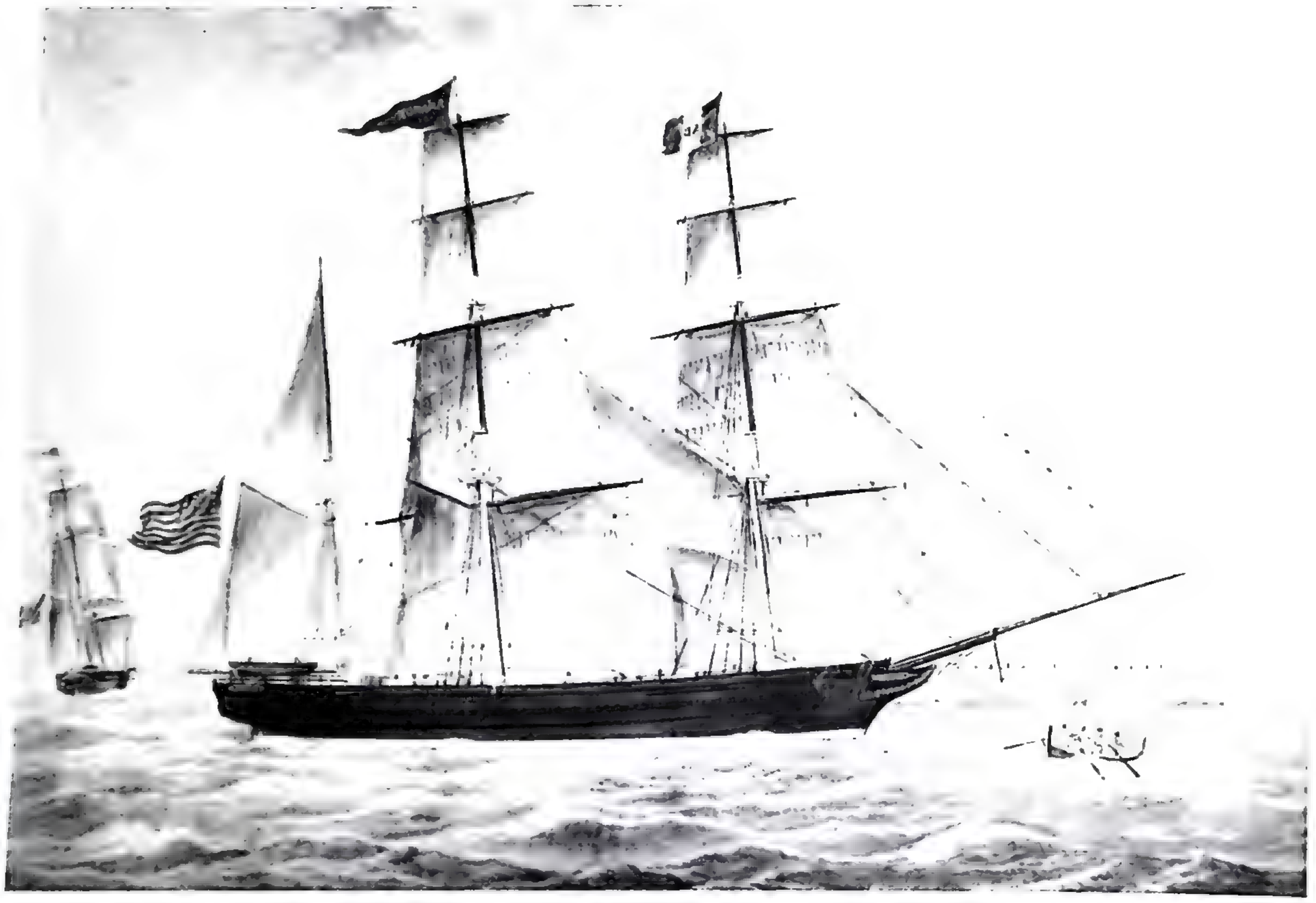
The following year sailing became a more serious matter. Now 'Mr. Baker,' third mate on the ship *Capitol*[6] on a voyage around the world, he had some responsibility for the management of the ship and her crew. The voyage was not an easy one, but he survived the struggle against snow, ice, sleet, and hurricanes near the Horn without any worse mishap than sliding clear across the icy deck on his belly. After that long twenty-month voyage around the world he became first mate for his brother Daniel on the bark *Amanda*.[7] In *Amanda* he weathered storms in the Mediterranean almost as severe as those at Cape Horn. But none of these, he was to discover, was any more life-threatening than the blinding snowstorm they ran into in Boston Bay as they came home in February 1854. Those four days demanded all the brains, practice, and valor that every one on board possessed.

Amanda was built for Capt. Daniel Baker's command in 1852 in Robbinston, Maine, and named for his bride-to-be, Amanda Hatch of Marshfield. Immediately after the bark returned from her maiden voyage to Malta, the newly married Amanda joined the bark *Amanda* for a honeymoon voyage to Palermo; then, after staying at home for *Amanda*'s third voyage, she sailed with them again on the voyage to Smyrna in the fall and winter of 1853-1854.

The whole passage home from Smyrna was a difficult one. Squall after violent squall attacked them as they made their way through the channels between the islands of the Aegean. (In 'the grandest squall,' amid thunder and lightning and torrents of rain, 'A little "*complaisant*" perched upon the end of the flying-jib boom, [and] gazed upon us with a great deal of complacency. . . .') Except for the temperature of the air, he wrote, the squalls 'fell but little short of those we had off Cape Horn, in the "*Capitol*".'

The gales continued, blowing them off course all the way down the Mediterranean. It took them thirty-nine and a half days to sail from Smyrna to Gibraltar. Other vessels, which they had left behind in the harbor at Smyrna, met them at the Straits after passages of sixteen or eighteen days, twenty-five at most. One had already gone through the Straits. There was a little respite when they reached the Atlantic, enough for some painting and repairs, and then they met more heavy gales. For a week before they reached the Grand Banks there was 'an almost unbroken succession of the worst gales of wind that I ever saw on this coast.' Then at last they were on soundings and steering for Boston light.

On Thursday, the second of February, they entered Boston Bay. On Sunday they were still there, 'perfectly ignorant of our whereabouts' in a driving snow-



Amanda, bark of Boston built 1852 at Robbinston, Maine. Watercolor by N. S. Cammillieri.

storm. On Monday, 'At 8 O'clock A.M. hard & fast in Brant Rock cove. No lives lost. After a night of the greatest hardship, that I have ever endured at about 7 O'clock as the second mate & I were standing the weather side of the poop I espied the land under our lee. . . . Daniel stood it very well.'

Those few days were a never-to-be-forgotten experience, which Baker recalled in vivid detail when blizzards and numerous shipwrecks in the winter of 1885 prompted him to write in support of a 'harbor of refuge' at Scituate. His account was published first in the Marshfield *Mail* and the Duxbury *Pilgrim*, and then it was picked up by the South Shore *Herald*. A few days later it was picked up from the *Herald* and reprinted in the Boston *Daily Advertiser* of 23 April 1885. Though the attribution there is to *Edmund* Baker rather than to Edward, that is clearly a mistake. A scrap of the original draft has survived between the pages of his journals, and there are also his entries in the winter of 1885 saying that he had written and published the story of the wreck of *Amanda*.

Dangers of the South Shore

The Story of the Wreck of the Amanda on Scituate Retold - The Need of a Harbor of Refuge

(Edmund [*sic*] Baker in the South Shore Herald)

Having read different newspaper articles upon the necessity and feasibility of creating a harbor of refuge at Scituate, reminiscences of personal experience in Boston bay have naturally been called up thereby. In winter it is a hard place, and all who are familiar with its navigation will readily testify to this fact. Prominent among several narrow escapes of my own in the bay, stands the shipwreck of the barque Amanda of Boston, on February 6, 1854.

The Amanda was in many respects identified with Marshfield interests. She was built for Captain Daniel D. Baker,

who was part owner and agent, and was partially manned by Duxbury and Marshfield boys, was in fact quite an apprentice ship. She was a nice little craft, was Captain Baker's first command and named for his wife, a Marshfield lady. She sailed well, was generally in the Mediterranean fruit trade and made good passages. On her last voyage she sailed from Boston in August, 1853, arriving in Smyrna in 42 days.

The homeward passage of the *Amanda* was one of the hardest passages I ever made across the Western ocean. Terrible gales continually succeeded each other at short intervals. We got a fair wind at Gibraltar after a hard beat down the Mediterranean and before replenishing our stock of provisions, rather than run the risk of lying windbound, took our chances, hoping for a short passage with 'Bermuda under our lee.' We passed the brig Teneriffe,[8] dismasted and abandoned, sound and tight, apparently, with hatches off and both anchors off the bows, cable hanging in the water from hawse pipes. On Thursday, February 2, at 8 A.M., we spoke the barque Native[9] of Yarmouth, N.S., which vessel gave us the bearing and distance of Cape Elizabeth Light, and we shaped our course for Boston Light, distant 75 miles, bearing S.S.W. We had obtained no observations for several days and been blown about continually by gale after gale of the fiercest kind for nearly two weeks. We ran into the bay in the night and were soon enshrouded in a blinding snowstorm, but ran our reckoning up to Boston Light, then hauled off at 4 A.M., on Friday, the 3d, under close reefed topsails, driving the vessel very hard to keep to windward of Cape Cod. We were utterly lost there as regards our position in the bay, and thought we got false bearings from the Native.

On Saturday, the fourth, the snowstorm ceased and we found ourselves off Cape Cod, close in between Race Point and Highland Light. The wind came out northwest and our decks were filled with water, which solidified as soon as it struck the deck. That Saturday night was the most fearfully cold night I ever encountered. I was on watch from midnight till 4 A.M. Sunday morning, and of the watch on deck, I only kept the man at the wheel out of the forecastle. I took hot coffee myself every hour and gave the men in the forecastle the same every two hours. One of the helmsmen, named Tom, froze his feet so badly that he never came on deck again until the ship was on shore. On Sunday forenoon everything glittered with ice. On the topgallant forecastle it was more than a foot thick and there was a solid coating six inches thick over the main deck. I worked with my watch nearly all the forenoon cutting it off the deck with axes. When I again took the deck at 4 P.M., after my afternoon watch below, the air was almost balmy, sky overcast, every trace of ice had disappeared, and Cape Cod was in sight several miles away. With a light southwest wind we were lying our course again for Boston Light. I felt quite exhilarated under the circumstances, and so expressed myself to the captain, but was surprised to see him take a gloomy view of the situation. The fact was, I had not been out and into Boston bay nearly so many times as the captain had, and knew far less in snowstorms than I afterwards learned. We were almost out of everything in the way of ship stores. Had been on allowance of water for several days. It had been so cold we could hardly keep the binnacle lamp burning and the oil was about expended, so I said rashly: 'I would put her in anyhow, wherever she may fetch up!' Of course that was what we were doing, but I saw that the captain had strong misgivings and watched the surroundings with a heavy heart.

The breeze freshened and we flew along, drawing past the cape in the distance, the gentle snowflakes fell caressingly upon us and soon the land was obscured from view, nightfall upon us, a piping gale behind us and the wind 'backening' rapidly from southwest to southeast, now increasing to a gale, in which, we double reefed the topsails as we bowled along before the wind, now east, and every eye was strained to get hold of a light through the impenetrable snow. I was aloft looking out, when the man at the wheel cried out, 'Land ho! Light ho!' He saw it better from the deck through the snow than I could from aloft, though we all saw it at once, and as it loomed up we knew it to be Scituate light and cliff. By this time the wind was northeast with a vengeance and so bitter cold! We just longed for a harbor and the remark passed between the captain and myself, 'If Scituate only had a harbor, how easy we could get into it.' Our deck and rigging were free from ice, and we could have run past the light with ease had there been an anchorage available, but no! Another 'thrash,' this time for life we knew, and wearing round and bracing up on the port tacks, under double reefed topsails, whole courses, and fore and aft sails, we continued to drag out that fearful night. It was between eleven and twelve o'clock when we made the land. It is impossible to describe the experiences of that night, as in the blinding storm, with the salt waves continually dashing over the ship in her desperate struggle for existence and escape from the death trap in which we again found ourselves, we tumbled about, pounding the sea and wallowing in it, every spray turning to solid ice as soon as it struck the vessel. We could only keep our feet by holding onto the rail, and our only hope was in forcing her along under the press of canvas, all she could carry; and so the night dragged on. After three o'clock the captain said 'we must reduce sail,' she could not stand it so. We clewed down topsails, hauled out reef tackles and close reefed foretopsail, when a light was seen to leeward and the order was given to prepare to wear ship and to hoist up main topsail again double reefed. In the attempt to hoist the topsail it split and blew away and we proceeded to wear ship. Our men were almost disabled, but we got the head yards par-

tially round, where the forebraces leading through blocks under the maintop were encased in ice to such an extent that a rope two inches thick was as large as a man's arm, and we could not bring the ship to the wind till William Weston, the second mate, went aloft, taking a man with him and pounding the ice off piece by piece, while every man on board, including the passengers, was tugging at the brace on deck, the ship meanwhile running rapidly directly towards the lee shore we were trying to escape. Finally the yards were braced round and the vessel on the starboard tack with main topsail gone, mainsail hauled up, main spencer with the head hauled half way out, and a desperate effort was made to set the foresail. Poor Bill Weston and I went for the foretack (I always feel sad when I think of his untimely end): we were alone, I think, and taking it to the windlass end he hove with a handspike, while I clung to the icy ropes till my fingers froze in the embrace, but we got the foresail set and we felt that our work was about done. The sea was very irregular and peculiar. We judged the light to be the Gurnet, though it was seen but for a moment. The captain stepped into the cabin, and soon a sea came rolling along threatening to fill the cabin. In a rush to close the door, Weston, being nearest, succeeded in doing so, and the sea swept me off my feet, which I immediately regained, but the water froze so quickly that only where it ran up my sleeve did it wet my skin at all. My hands were so benumbed that I had no power in them, and stepped into the galley to restore their circulation at the stove if possible. As I walked forward Bob Hunt, a Duxbury boy, met me and in his moderate and emphatic way, with a sort of half laugh said, 'Mr. Baker, I think this bark is doomed, never to get in.' I answered in a more hopeful tone and kept on to the galley, soon returning to the deck and gazing over the lee rail as the first gray of the dawn appeared. William Weston stood on the weather side looking to windward, and at my suggestion hove over the lead, which lay beside him, finding only eight fathoms of water. Said he, 'I shouldn't like to land on the Brant Rock this morning.' He had spent a good deal of time there formerly gunning. I replied, 'I guess we shouldn't find any gunners there,' but we didn't harbor the thought that we were so near it as we were. Soon I saw the dark bank beyond the thick driving snow and reluctantly said to him, 'There's the land, tell the captain.' The latter probably heard my remark for he immediately stepped on deck, and we vainly attempted to set the mainsail, but it blew to pieces before we could get the slack of the sheet in. The spanker was a solid mass of ice, and although we cut the gaskets with an axe we could not move it to set it. By this time we could see the long point on our lee bow and apparently we could not weather it, but providentially the wind favored us, and apparently the tide on our lee bow hawsed us to windward, for we came up a good deal. Bob Ames, a Marshfield boy, was at the wheel, and though on his first voyage showed some of the sterling courage and calmness rather peculiar to Yankees in tight places. She weathered the point head reaching still, but soon struck a rock from which she slid off with a side long movement, and Weston and I threw over the starboard anchor, the chain running out with a lightning like rapidity, checking her course, but the chain fouled and snapped like a pipe stem. By this time we had the port anchor down. The effect was to swing her head to windward, and Weston, with such help as he could muster, sprang aloft to try to do something. I don't know what orders he received, for I immediately went to cutting away foretopmast back stays, while Bob Hunt was at work at the main in the same way. The sea broke over me continually, and I soon lost power to hold the axe; every spray froze, and it was evidently useless work also, as the port chain had parted, so the helm was put to port and the vessel a hopeless wreck striking rock after rock, finally drove upon the beach and laid quietly. Captain Baker stood looking at the bluff through the storm and exclaimed, 'That is Branch's Island. I know the old fence!' We could now recognize the Brant Rock through the storm, and as I had been on board the schooner Mail,[10] in which Captain Goodsell came on shore near here when I was a schoolboy, I gleefully shouted, 'Then we are all right, for there is not another place on the coast so safe to land in as Brant Rock Cove.' The crew were some of them crying bitterly; poor Joe with his frozen feet hobbled on deck and Bob Hunt just in the pinch of the game, before we knew how it would go with us, shouted to me, 'Didn't I tell ye, Mr. Baker, this barque never would get in?' I acknowledged the corn even there, amused at his determination to show himself a true prophet, and his imperturbable coolness and sangfroid helped me in the performance of my duties. Bob was quite a sailor before I ever made a voyage, but had left the sea for years until this voyage when I got him a chance on the barque.

We went on shore at high water and recognized Mr. John L. Hatch on the beach. He hailed us as soon as he could get near enough to be heard, saying that we were in a safe position, and simply to wait for the tide to ebb, which we did. The galley was all right and an abundance of hot coffee was at hand, which was very refreshing, and ere long a side ladder was hung over the bow, from which we jumped to the beach. A whip was rigged, the round chair which I still have slung, and Mrs. Baker descended in it to the wagon Mr. Hatch backed into the surf, and we all proceeded to his residence, where we were most hospitably entertained. At night a tandem team hitched to a sled took me across the fields to my home, the neck road being unpassable.

Time and time again since that fearful night have I been jammed in Boston bay and at my wits' end, and if any harbor of refuge can be provided between Minot's Ledge and the Gurnets, every practical seaman who has had sufficient experience in the bay to warrant an expression of opinion on

the subject it seems to me cannot fail to say, 'Godspeed to the enterprise.' In our iced up condition, after the night's struggle, it was impossible for us to get into Plymouth or to avoid shipwreck.

* * *

Two years before that test of skill and courage, when Edward was in Palermo on his first voyage in *Amanda*, he received from his beloved sister Adeline a letter urging him to 'become a Christian.' His answer was to promise her that he would read some in the Bible every day—a promise that he kept all the rest of his life. He was then twenty-two, strongly Protestant, but not profoundly religious. As a youngster he had been a conscientious church-goer, always interested in a good religious discussion, but he had not been devout. He had said then that he preferred 'plain speaking' from the pulpit of his Congregational church, rather than emotional exhortation. Adeline, however, had become an evangelical Baptist since her marriage, and her letters now usually urged her brother to try to become a Christian. Edward responded more and more deeply as he grew older, with grave doubts about the state of his soul and his own unworthiness for salvation; but the desire to believe, to hope that he might find salvation by faith, was strong. The need was so great! There were times when no amount of human endeavor was enough to save a life. When friends died young, as so many did in those days, it was the only hope that one might see them again. When survival at sea was doubtful, it was the only hope that somehow one might be saved, if not in this world, then in the next where loving friends would welcome one.

Early in 1855 Adeline's husband died of tuberculosis, and she returned home to live with her parents. By fall, her cough could no longer be ignored; she too had tuberculosis. Edward stayed at home with her that winter, much concerned, but saying little about his dear Adie in his journal. (He had more to say about her friend Sophie Weston, with whom he had fallen in love.) In the spring the evangelists came to town and held revival meetings at the Old South Church in Marshfield, and before they had gone, Edward had been 'born again.' He did not use that term, but after he had heard the preacher's exhortations in both morning and afternoon sermons on Sunday, his 'heart was shattered, and 'twas with great difficulty I could refrain from giving vent to my internal emotion in floods of tears.' The text of the morning sermon was 'Sirs what must I do to be saved?' In the afternoon, 'Turn ye for why will ye die?' Of the preacher, Mr. Dyer, he wrote, 'Every word, gesture, and sentiment to which the speaker gave utterance, was as solemn as if he stood face to face with his *God*.' Two nights later, Edward 'told Adie of the hope which I have felt in Christ, and which has now been renewed through the instrumentality of these meetings.'

The test of his faith came the following summer. By the time he went to sea in April he knew that Adie was dying and that he might never see her again on earth. But if salvation could come through faith, and if his faith were strong enough, he thought, he might still—miserable sinner though he was—see her again some day in heaven. It was a voyage filled with anxiety. The anxiety about Adeline was overwhelming enough. In addition it was his first voyage as master (in the bark *Speedwell*)[11] and he was sent to Archangel so early in the season that the ice hadn't yet been driven out of the White Sea. Somewhere off 'Cape Sweetnose' the vessel was caught in drift ice and for nearly two weeks *Speedwell* was in danger of being crushed. Whether he could have avoided the ice the young Captain Baker wasn't sure, but he knew that no human effort could help them now, and he resigned himself utterly to the will of God. 'The prospect is dark now, but *God* can save. Truly we are in *his* hands, and He *alone* can save us.'

He did extricate himself from the ice, but Adie died two months before he reached home.

Four years after that emotional crisis and the narrow escape from being crushed and abandoned in the ice, the turmoil had subsided, but Edward still had a powerful faith in a God who could preserve them if He would. And if He chose not to, one must accept His will. Yet faith in God was no substitute for the brains, skill, and courage one always needed at sea. One sees his reliance on both in the account of his closest brush with death on the ocean. The human response by now was as close to being instinctive as any learned response can be. He knew what to do without having to stop for a second to think. When the moment was over his only thought was to give thanks to the Almighty for preserving him once more.

In 1858, Captain Baker bought shares in the vessel in which he was to be master, the bark *Wyman*,[12] built in Duxbury in 1845, and the following summer *Wyman* was chartered for 'rather a novel voyage i.e. to carry Col. Taliaferro P. Shaffner, of Kentucky, to

sound out a route for an Atlantic telegraph by way of Labrador, Greenland, Iceland, and Faeroe Isles to Glasgow.' Earlier attempts to span the Atlantic with telegraph cables had failed when the cables had parted under water. Colonel Shaffner theorized that with more frequent landing places the shorter lengths of cable would hold under the heavy oceanic pressure, and had been granted permission by the king of Denmark to set up stations on Danish territory. Colonel Shaffner had with him his wife and eleven-year-old son, and two assistants: a Mr. Sorrell who helped with the surveying, and a Mr. Putnam who made sketches of the places they saw and visited. Sophie, whom Edward had married after his return from Archangel, had sailed one voyage with her husband, but she was not the 'active' willing sailor that Amanda was and had stayed at home this time.

They sailed from Boston for Labrador late in August, but it was early October before they reached Greenland. On their arrival in Julianahaab the whole town was illuminated in their honor, and they were hospitably entertained by the Danish governor with 'port[,] sherry, Cherry-bounce, from Copenhagen and ginger preserve from China. I could not refuse to take a glass of wine with him,' added Baker apologetically (he had signed the Pledge when he was sixteen), 'as he was brimful of hospitality, in fact could hardly find vent for his exuberance of spirits, while his daughter, who is the impersonation of health, and seems like a fair queen, among these women in breeches, her dress only differing in its quality, from that of her satelites, favored us with some very pretty music on the accordion.'

Reluctant to leave so hospitable a community, they did not sail from Greenland until mid-October. By the end of the month, when they had been blown off course by late October gales, Captain Baker thought it unwise to try to make Iceland so late in the season, and after persuading Colonel Shaffner to abandon that part of his plan, set his course for Scotland. While they were still more than two hundred miles from the nearest land, they had one of the most terrifying experiences of Baker's sailing career, when they narrowly missed being shipwrecked on the only solid mass in that great expanse of ocean: Rockall Reef. A single mountain peak, Rockall, rises seventy feet out of the water to mark the spot. This experience was perhaps more terrifying than the real wreck of *Amanda* had been, because it happened so unexpectedly on a beautiful moonlit evening; so fast that they could barely help themselves; and in so isolated a place that, as they realized afterwards, if they had struck, they would have disappeared without a trace.

Nov. 4th . . . How can I find words to express my gratitude to my *God*, for preserving me in so great a danger as has just passed.

At a little after 9 O'clock P.M. Mr. Lewis called to me, down in the cabin, (it is a bright and beautiful moonlit evening,) that Rockall was in sight. I told him shortly before, that I expected to make it, at about 8 P.M.

We, Col Shaffner, and I went up, and sent for Mr. Putnam, as he had been very anxious to see the rock, having some time read an account of it. We all had a good look at it, and telling Mr. Lewis to look out forward, for any chance reef, which might lie in this vicinity, I stepped down, looked at my chart, and sat down with Col. S.—, when I heard Mr. Lewis call out, 'keep her off, keep her off.'

I jumped on deck and there, not more than a musket shot, directly ahead the sea was lashing itself upon an awful reef, foaming, and roaring, and shining fearfully, in the gleaming moonlight.

The man at the wheel was jamming his wheel up with all his might and I hauled down the head of the spanker as soon as possible, say in a dozen seconds. It seemed an *age* before the bark paid off, although it was but a few seconds, and when we ran past, the foam from the rock, actually kissed our sides!!

What a moment! we were going at the rate of about seven knots, and if it had been thick as it has been much of the past day I believe we should now have been in another world, for I do not think, the bark would have gone over so awful a reef, without foundering immediately.

After we were past it, I stood by the mizen rigging, and thought of our escape thought how many dangers, the Hand of Providence had safely led me out of, and the tears gushed from my eyes, and streamed down my cheeks, trickling through my whiskers of a years growth, till they reached the skin, and fervent, passionate, thanksgiving I poured forth from my inmost soul, to Him who holds the mighty Ocean in his Hand, but has permitted so weak, and helpless, a being as man, to be his noblest work.

Poor Brown was at the wheel, and he had to tell me, that he thought we were going. After we were past the rock he told me. Such danger as that is a great leveler.

It seems now like a horrid nightmare, more than a danger, of five minutes. I do not think it lasted longer than that.

I came down here, and offered up a more fervent prayer, than I have before done, for months I fear. Such nearness to our God, makes men pray fervently. It tears the dry incrustation of worldliness, from the heart, and leaves it bare, and

fluttering at the foot of him who causes it to pulsate. 'Tis good for us that it is so. A sudden impulse caused me to look upon the likeness of my dear wife, she is ever first in my thoughts, of earthly beings on occasions of danger, and I passionately whispered as I gazed on her loved face, '*dear* wife, do you pray for your loved one'? I thought perhaps this night supplication had gone up from those dear lips, for him who is far from dear earthly friends, but is in the Hands of the same God, who bound us in inseperable bonds for time and I trust, for Eternity.

Father! may it not be thus? Grant our prayer, for Jesus' sake.

Notes on Vessels

('Most recent registration' in the following notes refers to the registration in effect at the time the vessel sailed on the voyage mentioned in this article.)

1. *Howland,* bark, of Boston. 275 37/95 tons. Built at Camden, Maine, 1845. John Paschal, Master Carpenter. Registered Boston, 14 November 1845. Dimensions: length 102 feet, 4 inches; breadth 24 feet, 9 inches; depth 12 feet, 1 inch. One deck, 3 masts, square stern, no galleries, a billethead. Most recent registration: Boston, 11 September 1847. Owners: John H. Pearson 12/32; Isaac Taylor, Andrew B. Pearson, Jeremiah Doane 2/32; Geo. A. Whitney, J. Brooks Fenno 2/32; Samuel Prince, Richard M. Baker 2/32; Samuel Colby, 2/32, Boston; Samuel D. Carlton, Joshua G. Norwood 4/32, Camden, Maine; Nathaniel G. Bourne, Charleston, South Carolina 8/32. Master (1848): Clarenton (Clarington?) W. Eldridge.

2. *Hibernia,* Cunard wooden-hulled side-paddle steamer. 1422 tons gross; 791 tons net. Built at Port Glasgow, 1843, to replace *Columbia* for Cunard Line. Dimensions: length 219 feet; breadth 35.9 feet; depth 24.2 feet. 500 H. P. nominal; 1040 I. H. P. Stated speed 9½ knots per hour.

3. *Akbar,* ship, of Boston. 642 89/95 tons. Built at Medford, 1839, by Samuel Hall for R. B. Forbes's China fleet. Dimensions: length 148 feet 10 inches; breadth 30 feet 7 inches; depth 15 feet 3½ inches. Two decks, 3 masts, square stern, a figurehead. Most recent registration: Boston, 4 May 1848. Owners: Samuel Hall 1/4, John Hicks 1/4, Boston; Christopher Hall 1/4, Levi Howes 1/8, Prince S. Crowell 1/8, Dennis. Master (1848-1849): George Crocker.

4. *Smyrna,* brig, of Duxbury. 196 28/95 tons. Built at Duxbury, 1839. Samuel Cushing, Master Carpenter. Registered #10 at Plymouth, 4 November 1839. Dimensions: length 83 feet 8 inches; breadth 21 feet, 3 inches; depth 12 feet 4½ inches. One deck, 2 masts, square stern, no galleries, a figurehead. Most recent registration: Boston, 7 October 1842. Owners: Gershom B. Weston, Duxbury; Alden B. Weston, Ezra Weston, Boston. Master (1849): Stephen Cushing Sprague, Marshfield.

5. *Anglo-American,* ship, of Boston. 704 19/95 tons. Built at Boston, 1847. Certificate of Donald McKay, builder, on file at Boston. Registered Boston, 30 November 1847; launched 3 January 1848. Dimensions: length 149 feet 6 inches; breadth 32 feet ¼ inch; depth 20 feet 3 inches. Two decks, 3 masts, square stern, a billethead. Most recent registration: 10 May 1849. Owners: Enoch Train, Frederick W. Thayer, 3/4; Andrew T. Hall 1/4, Boston. Master (1850): George Winsor, Duxbury.

6. *Capitol,* ship, of Boston. 687 44/95 tons. Built at Newbury, 1847. Registered #8 at Newburyport 15 April 1847. Dimensions: length 149 feet 3 inches; breadth 31 feet 8 inches; depth 15 feet 10 inches. Two decks, 3 masts, square stern, a billethead. Most recent registration: Boston, 22 January 1849. Owners: George K. Sampson, Lewis W. Tappan, Boston. Master: Charles H. Magoun, Marshfield.

7. *Amanda,* bark, of Boston. 191 22/95 tons. Built at Robbinston, Maine, 1852. Registered #20 at Passamaquoddy, 30 April 1852; Boston, 19 August 1852. Dimensions: length 91 feet 4 inches; breadth 24 feet; depth 9 feet 10 inches. One deck, 3 masts, a square stern, a billethead. Most recent registration: Boston, 6 September 1853. Owners: J. James Cobb, Nathaniel Y. French, copartners, 3/18; William G. Train 9/18, Zenas F. Brett 2/18, Boston; Daniel D. Baker 3/18, Duxbury; Calvin C. Sampson, Isaac Keene, copartners, 1/18, New Orleans, Louisiana. Master: Daniel D. Baker.

8. *Teneriffe,* 'Bristol brig,' of Bristol, Maine. Abandoned at sea sometime before 28 January 1854. Other information about her still eludes me.

9. *Native,* bark, of Yarmouth, Nova Scotia. 451 tons. Built at Yarmouth, 1853. Owners: Nathan Utley, Robert Guest, and others.

10. *Mail,* schooner. There was a schooner *Mail,* 149 tons, built in 1831, sailing for the Commercial Line, Wm. Parker & Co., 116 State St., Boston, and a Capt. Curtis B. Goodsell (Marshfield), who in 1847 was master of the schooner *New York* for the same company. (See Carl C. Cutler, *Queens of the Western Ocean.*) I have not found *Mail* anywhere else.

11. *Speedwell,* bark of Boston. 335 28/95 tons. Built at Essex, 1854. Registered Boston, 21 August 1854. Dimensions: length 115 feet 0 inches; breadth 27 feet 0 inches; depth 11 feet 11 inches. One deck, 3 masts, a rounding stern, a figurehead. Most recent registration: 21 August 1854. Owners: Elijah D. Brigham 1/8, Elisha H. Ryder 1/16, Joseph H. Curtis 1/32, Geo. G. Curtis 1/32, Edw. W. Davis 1/32, Samuel Aspinwall 1/32, Geo. Kingman 1/32, Leavitt Hobart 1/32, Martha Adams 1/32, Joseph L. Badger 1/64, Nathl Bailey 1/64, Obadiah D. Witherell 1/64, Wm. W. Flinn 1/64, Samuel Loud 1/64 of Boston; Enoch H. Howes 1/16, Chas. W. Hamilton 1/16, Prince Harding 1/32, Elijah W. Carpenter 1/32, Samuel C. Howes 1/32,

Sam Eldredge 1/32, Hiram Harding 1/64, Joseph Atwood 1/64, Joseph Atwood, Jr. 1/64, Zenas Nickerson 1/64, Zenas Nickerson, Jr. 1/64, Elijah Crosby 1/64, John Emery 1/64, David E. Mayo 1/64, Seth Ryder 1/64, Howes Ryder 1/64, Joseph Reeds 1/64, Estate of Samuel Dill 1/32 of Chatham; Whetfield Witherell 1/64 of Wellfleet; John H. Nickerson 1/64 of New York City. Master (1856): Edward Baker, Duxbury.

12. *Wyman*, bark, of Boston; formerly of Salem. 193 46/95 tons. Built at Duxbury 1845. Dimensions: length 92 feet 2 inches; breadth 23 feet 1 inch; depth 10 feet 2 inches. Most recent registration: 7 October 1858. Owners: Henry Burditt 7/16, Henry W. Burditt 6/16, Boston; Edward Baker 3/16, Marshfield. Master: Edward Baker, Marshfield. (He did live at Marshfield instead of Duxbury for six months or so, after his marriage and before he bought into *Wyman*.)

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Helen Hill grew up in Taunton, Massachusetts, but has lived in Ann Arbor, Michigan, since 1948. She is a retired professor of English from Eastern Michigan University. She has published, in Manuscripts, *an article on Edward Baker, 'Boyhood in Crooked Lane'; another, 'Glimpses of Daniel Webster,' is forthcoming in the same magazine. Both are based on excerpts from Baker's early journals.*

C.S.S. *Georgia:* Memory and History

By Hawley Stevens

At twilight on 30 August 1863, the 600-ton cruiser C.S.S. *Georgia* approached Simon's Bay, South Africa from the east-southeast. The last light of a winter sun should have stood directly off the cruiser's bow, guiding her to the British colony and sanctuary. Instead of light, however, the Confederates' path darkened in the ominous shadow of the 3,360-ton U.S.S. *Vanderbilt.* Manned by 209 hands and carrying a main armament of twelve 9-inch Dahlgrens and two 100-pound Parrots, the giant side-wheel steamer weighed over five times more than the Confederate cruiser. *Georgia*'s eight officers and seventy men faced odds of one to three while the combined broadside weight of her five guns amounted to a pitiful 100 pounds. Lt. William Lewis Maury, commanding *Georgia,* chose to attack.

Or rather, this is how an old man remembered the confrontation fifty years later. James Morris Morgan served in *Georgia* as an eighteen-year-old midshipman and when his *Recollections of a Rebel Reefer* appeared in 1917, he vividly recalled Maury's decision to close with the Federal leviathan.

> Captain Maury ordered all hands to assemble at the mast and said to them, 'Men, that steamer is the *Vanderbilt;* she can outrun us and she can whip us after she catches us. I am going to lay you alongside of her and you had far better follow me aboard her and die like men fighting for your lives than to tamely allow yourselves to be hung from her yardarms. Go to quarters!'[1]

It is a story about a gallant style of recklessness devoid of all that is considered sensible and prudent. It is perhaps symbolic of the Confederate attitude towards the American Civil War. Unfortunately the account is more of an outgrowth of history than a record of it. Morgan's *Recollections* suffers badly when compared to an abstract of the cruiser's log and Maury's reports as found in the *Official Record of the Union and Confederate Navies (O.R.N.).* Considering the fallibility of human memory, it is not surprising to find errors in an autobiography written so long after the incident took place.

Far more interesting is the fact that the authors of four historical articles accepted the tattered memory over the *O.R.N.* to which all had access. Their deference to Morgan's *Recollections* provides some idea of the ability of an agreeable tale to weaken the required resolve to thoroughly research historical records.

Morgan joined *Georgia* as an eighteen-year-old midshipman and at age seventy wrote his *Recollections.* During the intervening fifty-two years Morgan enjoyed a variety of careers, including service as an officer in the Egyptian army and American consul-general to Australia. Yet for all his adventures, Morgan's greatest source of pride came from serving in *Georgia.* Early in 1863, the brilliant oceanographer and Confederate agent, Matthew Fontaine Maury (cousin of William Lewis Maury), secretly purchased *Georgia* in Great Britain. He arranged for her to slip out of the Clyde disguised as the merchantman *Japan,* barely evading a government detention order. Off Ushant Island the covert cruiser met the oceangoing tug *Alar,* carrying the officers, crew, and armaments to transform *Japan* into a high seas raider.

Morgan wrote that engine trouble developed aboard *Alar,* leaving her dead in the water. *Japan* passed a towline to the tug, but the line fouled the ship's screw and for 'several hours' both vessels wallowed helplessly in the swells.[2] The situation would have been ludicrous had not the dangers of detection been so serious. The cruiser's crew and guns were trapped aboard a broken-down tugboat while literally tied to a ship unable to put about without engaging her then-useless engine. Fortunately, the crew managed to clear the fouled screw and complete the commissioning.

There is confusion over both the complement and armament of *Georgia.* J. Thomas Scharf, in his *History of the Confederate Navy,* places the crew at fifty and names ten officers. Scharf gives an armament of

1. James Morris Morgan, *Recollections of a Rebel Reefer* (Boston, 1917), p. 153.

2. Ibid., p. 115.

two 100-pounders, two 24-pounders, and one 32-pounder—all Whitworths.[3] Morgan claimed *Georgia* put to sea with eight officers and nine hands, while mounting two 24-pounders, two 10-pounder Whitworths, and a 32-pounder Blakeley.[4] The *O.R.N.* contains a cryptic notation in the abstract log on 23 April: 'mounted the two Whitworth guns.'[5] Elsewhere in the *O.R.N.*, the data concerning *Georgia* says nothing about the armament except it consisted of 'five guns.'[6] As to her crew, the *O.R.N.* includes a report given by the master of *Georgia*'s first capture that relates: 'Her crew consists of about 15 officers and 70 men. All the crew and some of the officers are English.'[7] The report lists six Confederate officers. The report does not state whether the seventy men included those men who had served in the captured clipper and later joined *Georgia*. However many men served, *Georgia* began her cruise with a shortage of hands. Undermanned and weakly armed, the little cruiser headed into the Atlantic on 9 April 1863, precisely two years before Appomattox.[8]

The crew put to sea in a vessel 212 feet long, 27-foot beam, drawing 13 feet, 9 inches, and registered at 600 tons.[9] Iron-hulled and brig-rigged, the cruiser received additional, if temperamental, propulsion from a 200-horsepower steam engine that tended to break down 'only when she gets us in a tight place in bad weather, or we are trying to avoid a collision.'[10]

After sixteen days at sea *Georgia* made her first capture, the 1,293-ton clipper *Dictator*, bound from New York to Hong Kong with a cargo of coal and crew of thirty-one, almost half that of the man-of-war. Since *Dictator* carried American cargo, Maury condemned the $86,000 clipper to burn after her crew came across to the cruiser to be placed in irons.[11] As was customary in all Confederate cruisers, the prisoners received far better treatment than the phrase 'placed in irons' implies. Morgan reported that in small groups, the prisoners enjoyed the freedom of the deck during daylight, while the captain and mates lived with the officers.[12]

The cruiser's voyage very nearly ended on 29 April in the Cape Verde Islands. Approaching the pass between the islands of Saint Vincent and San Antonio, *Georgia* had the advantage of running before the prevailing northeasterly trade winds. At Saint Vincent was the harbor of Porto Grande, situated so that approaching vessels cannot be seen until they stand straight out from the anchorage.[13] *Georgia* stood only three miles off the harbor when the crew sighted U.S.S. *Mohican* at anchor in Porto Grande. A sloop of war armed with seven guns, *Mohican*'s tonnage amounted to twice that of *Georgia*. According to Morgan, Maury had served in the Union sloop before the war and realized that his present command could neither outsail nor outfight the enemy ship. Only if the Union vessel had banked her fires and lost steam, did Maury have a chance. Ordering all sails furled, Maury brought *Georgia* about 180 degrees and steamed directly into the wind at less than four knots. *Mohican* had indeed allowed her steam to go down, but *Georgia* held a very temporary lead. Knowing that the sloop would begin pursuit before his vessel could hull down, Maury decided *Georgia*'s only hope lay in reversing course again, and sailing around Saint Vincent along the opposite side of Porto Grande. By Morgan's memory, Maury laid the cruiser into a small cove, less than seven miles from *Mohican*, and dispatched an officer to a hilltop overlooking the harbor. The officer returned to report *Mohican* had raised steam and was now following a course away from the Confederate's present position.[14]

The *O.R.N.* states that Maury kept offshore and 'made signal for a fishing boat to come alongside, to obtain information from them.'[15] Although *Mohican* is not mentioned by name in the abstract log, reports from the Union sloop included in the *O.R.N.* place her at Porto Grande at the time. However, nothing in either the abstract log or the reports indicates that *Mohican*'s commander was ever aware of the cruiser's presence.[16]

Passing southwest through the doldrums, the cruiser crossed the equator on 8 May and five days later

3. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of the Confederate Navy* (Albany, New York, 1894), p. 803.
4. Morgan, *Recollections*, pp. 112-13, 115-16.
5. Richard Rush and Robert H. Woods, eds., *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, 1895), ser. I, vol. 2, p. 811.
6. C. C. Marsh, ed., *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, 1921), ser. II, vol. 1, p. 254.
7. Rush and Woods, eds., *O.R.N.*, p. 355.
8. Ibid., p. 811.
9. C. C. Marsh, ed., op. cit., p. 254.
10. Morgan, *Recollections*, p. 183.
11. Rush and Woods, eds., *O.R.N.*, p. 811.
12. Morgan, *Recollections*, pp. 122-23.
13. Porto Grande is now known as Mindelo.
14. Morgan, *Recollections*, p. 122.
15. Rush and Woods, eds., *O.R.N.*, p. 812.
16. Ibid., pp. 161, 182.

dropped anchor outside Bahia de Todos os Santos, Brazil at 1:30 in the morning.[17] Months before, Matthew Fontaine Maury selected Bahia as a secret rendezvous for the cruiser to meet a bark contracted to carry coal for her.[18] Before the call at Bahia, Morgan and the *O.R.N.* differ mainly in terms of numbers and details. During the visit the discrepancies between the two sources become far more substantial. Morgan states that inside the harbor, the silhouettes of two warships caused *Georgia*'s crew to wait anxiously for dawn when the colors would be hoisted to reveal their nationalities. Morgan reported one a 'Portuguese sloop'; the other proved to be the most publicized warship afloat, C.S.S. *Alabama*.[19] The two Confederate ships happily surprised one another, and soon *Georgia* shifted her anchorage inshore.

Morgan stated that *Georgia*'s prisoners went ashore with three weeks' worth of surplus energy. They got ashore, joined the prisoners freed from *Alabama*, and promptly began terrifying the town. Morgan reported they took such pleasure in horrifying the American consul with tales of terror aboard the Rebel pirate ships that the official prepared reports damning the Confederates. Morgan then recalled that the entire crew and two of the mates from *Dictator* smuggled themselves back aboard *Georgia* to sign on.[20]

According to the *O.R.N.*, fourteen men did sign on with the Confederates, but they did this the day after their capture and several days before the encounter with *Mohican*. The log recorded faithfully how many men signed on from each capture. What is remarkable about the fourteen men signed on from the clipper is that it shows Maury so desperate for hands that he accepted that large a number so quickly after their capture.[21]

According to both logs found in the *O.R.N.*, the two Confederate cruisers did accidentally meet in Bahia.[22] The vessels remained at Bahia for over a week before departing on separate days. *Alabama* sailed on 21 May while *Georgia* weighed anchor the following night. A Brazilian sloop of war did appear the day *Georgia* sailed, but there is no mention in the *O.R.N.* of any attempt to detain the cruiser.[23] Morgan's tale of the Confederate departure is far more exciting than the *O.R.N.* but unfortunately it is exactly that, an exciting tale.

Morgan recounts that the Confederates somehow received word that the Federal warships *Niagara* and *Mohican* would close on Bahia within a few days. It would have been close to a fair fight between *Alabama* and *Mohican*. *Niagara*, however, would have been an impossible battle for a dozen *Georgia*s. Designed by George Steers (who also designed the yacht *America*), *Niagara* carried one 80-pounder, eleven 11-inch Dahlgrens, and had the reputation of being one of the finest steamships in the fleet. Semmes and Maury therefore decided to sail late in the afternoon of 22 May.

Before news of the Federals' advance, the port authorities had constantly harassed the cruisers, attempting to badger them into leaving. This attitude dramatically changed with the prospect of gaining favor with the Lincoln government by delaying the Confederates until the Union squadron arrived. Morgan claimed he was sent ashore to notify the harbor master of the Confederate sailing plans, where the captain of the Portuguese sloop exploded with a proud speech offering to detain the 'corsairs.' When Morgan reported this to Semmes, the captain welcomed the blast of bravado with a rare smile and asked: 'Does he want his pretty white paint spoiled?'[24]

At the announced time of 4:15 P.M., the two cruisers weighed anchor and stood out to sea, *Alabama* in the van. Semmes and his ship were fresh from their victory over U.S.S. *Hatteras* and if the neutral wished to fight, Semmes would have gladly obliged. He could have simply headed out, but instead Semmes brought *Alabama* broadside to the Portuguese ship and passed so close that for an instant *Georgia*'s crew thought the yards of the two ships would tangle. The Confederates returned to the Atlantic unchallenged, and the neutral captain lost the chance to engage a sizable portion of the 'Confederate Squadron of the South American Station' with a single ship.[25]

It may be contended that Maury failed to report the threats or that the editors of the *O.R.N.* deleted the attempted detention. This argument is weakened by the

17 Ibid., p. 812. Bahia de Todos os Santos is now known as Salvador.

18 Morgan, *Recollections*, pp. 127-28. Morgan pointed out that Germany followed this pattern fifty-three years later when the loss of her overseas colonies during World War I necessitated sending colliers to secretly refuel German raiders.

19. Ibid., p. 126.

20. Ibid., pp. 126-27.

21. Rush and Woods, eds., *O.R.N.*, p. 812.

22. Ibid., pp. 743, 813.

23. Ibid., p. 813.

24. Morgan, *Recollections*, p. 131.

25. Arthur Sinclair, *Two Years on the Alabama* (Boston, 1896), pp. 124-25. C.S.S. *Florida* was at Pernambuco during this time and within two days steaming.

absence of any mentioning of a threat in *Alabama*'s log.[26] Far more convincing than the log is Semmes's *Service Afloat*. There is no mention of any attempt at detention by the Brazilian authorities in the memoir and Raphael Semmes would have recorded such an event in meticulous detail.[27]

Georgia sailed south toward Rio de Janeiro where another capture is recorded in the *O.R.N.* Nineteen miles off the coast of Brazil, the Confederates captured the clipper *George Griswold*.[28] Maury bonded the vessel, carrying a neutral cargo, for $100,000 and took *Georgia* back into the South Atlantic. There is no mention in the *O.R.N.* of anything unusual about either the capture or Maury's decision to return the cruiser to the open sea. Morgan's *Recollections*, on the other hand, paint a scene as perilous as Eliza on the ice.

Morgan claimed the crew spotted the American clipper dangerously close to the 'charmed marine league' of three nautical miles from Brazilian shores.[29] *Georgia*'s navigator 'announced that in his opinion she was a few inches outside' Brazilian waters and a few shots quickly caused the clipper to heave-to. Manned by a black crew and white officers while carrying a neutral cargo, the clipper was duly bonded by the Confederates and released unmolested. However, unfriendly warships in the harbor heard the shots and soon ugly black trails of smoke began to crawl skyward. *Georgia* headed out to sea and escape. Unable to disappear over the horizon before the pursuers steamed out, the Confederates had lost most of their lead by nightfall. Darkness gave the opportunity Maury needed, and after ordering the running lights extinguished, he veered off to let the hounds race past their quarry. Morgan never claimed to have spotted any Union warships in the pack, but he strongly suspected they led the way.

Roaming the South Atlantic, *Georgia* captured the bark *Good Hope* on 13 June. Both Morgan and the *O.R.N.* note that the master of the bark, 'Captain Gordon,' died earlier in the voyage, but his body remained aboard ship.[30] Morgan explained that the master's son refused to allow a burial at sea and caused the ship's carpenter to construct a watertight coffin. The crew filled the coffin with brine drawn from beef casks while the ship's steward sliced up the body with a carving knife to place pickles in it.

Good Hope carried an American cargo and Maury gave orders to burn her once the crew and provisions came aboard the cruiser. The last of the prisoner crew to leave the doomed ship was the dead master. Once aboard the Confederate cruiser, Maury ordered an American flag be draped over the coffin while the carpenter fastened weights to the foot. The Confederates temporarily released their prisoners from irons to hear Maury read the last rites over their captain. With a quiet dignity, Maury proceeded to reunite the dead captain with his ship.

Till this point, the *O.R.N.* and Morgan are in agreement as to the capture of *Good Hope*. It is in the recounting of subsequent events that Morgan weaved a story later historians have found irresistible.

> I was in charge of the deck while the service was going on. It was a bright sunny Sunday morning, a fresh breeze blowing, and from the burning prize, which had been set on fire when our last boat left her, a great column of smoke, hundreds of feet in height, soared toward the sky. Just over our main truck, all through the service, two white sea birds (the superstitious sailors called them 'angel' birds) circled round and round. The solemnity of the occasion was somewhat marred when suddenly the lookout on the foretopmast sang out: 'Sail ho!' Not wishing further to disturb the impressive ceremony by asking the usual question of 'Where away?' I tiptoed forward and went aloft to see for myself, and beheld a strange craft rising on the horizon very rapidly. She appeared to coming directly for us; she was close-hauled and it was impossible to tell whether or not a smokestack was hidden by her foresail, especially as United States cruisers used anthracite coal and made little or no smoke.
>
> As the stranger approached, I noticed the unusual whiteness of her sails—a sure sign of a man-of-war; next I noticed a long pennant flying gayly from the top of her main skysail pole—another sure sign; and as she came still nearer she broke out the Stars and Stripes! I waited no longer, but scampered down from aloft, and softly stealing up behind Captain Maury, who was still reading from his prayer book, said in a whisper—'American man-of-war bearing down on us rapidly!' Never a muscle did he move, nor was there the slightest change in his solemn voice until he had finished, and the prisoners had lifted the coffin and committed the body to the care of the deep blue sea. Then he ordered me to beat to quarters and cast loose the guns.[31]

26. Rush and Woods, eds., *O.R.N.*, p. 745.
27. Raphael Semmes, *Memoirs of Service Afloat* (Baltimore 1869), pp. 618-19.
28. Rush and Woods, eds., *O.R.N.*, p. 814.
29. Morgan, *Recollections*, p. 135.
30. Ibid., p. 136; and Rush and Woods, eds., *O.R.N.*, p. 814.
31. Morgan, *Recollections*, pp. 137-38.

Rather than offering battle, however, the advancing stranger presented another prize. *J. W. Seaver,* a homeward-bound bark from the Orient, had pressed all sail to assist the burning *Good Hope*. The bark had left for the Orient in 1860 and for three years navigated over most of the Pacific without learning of the war. Trying to render aid to a burning ship, the bark's crew had unwittingly rushed to be captured by an enemy they did not know existed. By any standard of international law, the bark could be destroyed, but Maury would not allow it, according to Morgan.

> Although her cargo was American, Captain Maury let him go, saying that he would stand a court martial before he would burn the ship of a man who had come on an errand of mercy to help fellow seamen in distress.[32]

It is a charming story, but it is not history. As found in the abstract log of the *O.R.N.,* history describes a very different event:

> At 11 A.M. set fire to prize and abandoned her. At 11:20 started in pursuit of a bark. . . . At 1:15 called all hands to bury the dead. The burial service was read over the remains of Captain Gordon, of the prize bark *Good Hope,* and his body committed to the deep. At 4:25 P.M. captured the bark *J. W. Seaver* from Boston to the Amoor River loaded with machinery for the Russian Government.[33]

There is nothing unexpected in discovering an old man's memory wavered after fifty years. What is interesting about the contradiction is finding three historical studies accepting Morgan's legend over the *O.R.N.*

William Oliphant Rentz's article, 'The Confederate States Ship *Georgia,*' acknowledges the use of Morgan's *Recollections* and promises the memoir's account is 'substantiated wherever possible by the *O.R.N.* and *Rebellion Records* by F. Moore.'[34] Rentz adds the caveat: 'Morgan's memory sometimes fails him as to dates and a few names, but reading his vivid accounts is like reliving his adventures with him.'[35] Concerning the *Good Hope* incident, Rentz ignores his own warning.

> With the [dead master's son] standing beside him [Maury] and prisoners and crew gathered around the coffin, Captain Maury read the beautiful ritual of the Episcopal Church for burial of the dead at sea. As he read, Midshipman Morgan, in charge of the deck, seeing what he believed to be an American man-of-war rapidly approaching the *Georgia,* quietly reported this to him. Captain Maury, never altering his voice, finished the ceremony, committed the body to the care of the deep, then ordered 'beat to quarters.'
>
> The approaching ship turned out to be an American merchantman, the *J. W. Seaver,* whose captain had seen smoke from the burning *Good Hope* and rushed to be of assistance. Although the ship and cargo were American, Captain Maury said, 'I would stand a court-martial before I would burn the ship of a man who had come on an errand of mercy to help fellow seamen in distress.' Placing the prisoners that wanted to go . . . aboard the *Seaver* he let her go.[36]

Carlos C. Hanks's article, 'The Confederacy's Only Foreign War,' fails to provide a bibliography but Morgan's influence is unmistakable.

> During these rites the *Good Hope,* lying only a few hundred yards away, was a mass of flame from truck to keelson and the fire attracted the American bark *Seaver,* whose captain, ignorant of a state of war, sought to give assistance. Under the circumstances, Captain Maury loaded the prisoners into the *Seaver* and released her.[37]

The most unhappy employment of Morgan's *Recollections* appears in George W. Dalzell's otherwise masterful study of the Confederate cruisers, *Flight From the Flag*. Dalzell's usually meticulous research becomes an obstacle to recounting a romance.

> Lieutenant Maury had the remains brought on board, wrapped them in the United States colors, and conducted the service for the Burial of the Dead at Sea, while the *Good Hope* was standing by in flames, like a fiery chariot awaiting the spirit of her late commander. . . . While Maury was reading the prayer book, Midshipman Morgan, in charge of the deck, received a report from the lookout that a sail was approaching. He whispered to Maury, who calmly read on to 'We commit his body to the deep.' Then, as the shotted shroud slid overboard, he cried the command, 'Beat to Quarters!'
>
> The stranger was the 340-ton bark *F. W. Seaver* [*sic*], Captain Snow. Not recognizing the character of the *Georgia,* he put off a boat and went aboard her, full of concern for the burning vessel near by. 'Can I be of any assistance?' he exclaimed as he stepped on the deck. . . . Maury said that he 'would stand court-martial before he would burn the ship

32. Ibid., p. 139.
33. Rush and Woods, eds., *O.R.N.*, p. 814.
34. William Oliphant Rentz, 'The Confederate States Ship *Georgia,*' *Georgia Historical Quarterly,* LVI (1972), 311.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid., p. 313.
37. Carlos C. Hanks, 'The Confederacy's Only Foreign War,' United States Naval Institute *Proceedings,* LXVII (1941), 536.

of a man who had come on an errand of mercy to help fellow seamen in distress.'[38]

Rentz's article and Dalzell's study are both thoroughly documented and both demonstrate a serious concern for historical fact. A serious concern for historical fact that dissipates upon discovering Morgan's memory of *Good Hope*. Against it, history falls to the legend.[39]

The next major event in the career of *Georgia* presents a small example of how accidents in research can transform a legend. After releasing *J. W. Seaver*, the cruiser followed an eastward course to the Brazilian island of Trindade, 700 miles off South America. Many ships outbound for the Pacific stopped at Trindade to check their chronometers, and Maury shrewdly chose to stop chasing and simply wait. Like a barracuda in the shadows of a channel buoy, the Confederates bided their time and gambled that they had set a trap rather than placed themselves in one. Seven days passed, a sail appeared; but the gamble paid off when the vessel proved to be the clipper *Constitution*. She carried a cargo of coal that *Georgia* badly needed, but for which her crew paid dearly, according to Morgan.[40] The Confederates found that *Constitution* was carrying a large number of missionaries who viewed *Georgia* as an instrument of Satan. At any moment, the Christian soldiers expected to be martyred by the Southern cutthroats.

Morgan claimed that no sooner had the clipper surrendered than the look-outs spotted another sail. The coal and prisoners could never be transferred in time, so six men, including Morgan, boarded the prize while *Georgia* sailed in pursuit. Morgan remembered two days passing without sight of the cruiser and by the third night the boarding party could not imagine a slower passage of time. The sea started to rise and as the vessel rolled, a large vase crashed to the deck with a loud report.

> . . . [T]hen pandemonium broke loose. The women, screaming that the pirates were going to murder them, rushed out of their rooms in their night-clothes and prostrated themselves on the deck, begging for mercy. Just then—to add to the terrors of the situation—the cries of the women were drowned by the boom of a cannon and the shrieking of a rifle-shell as it passed over us.[41]

Morgan ran topside to surrender but made the mistake of announcing himself as 'the United States ship *Constitution*.'[42] The words 'United States' provoked another broadside blast from the returning *Georgia*. Once Morgan managed to again surrender *Constitution* to *Georgia*, the latter's deck officer explained he had mistaken the women's screams for the cheers of gun crews clearing for action.

> He also said that when he asked what ship it was, he was sure the answer he heard was: 'The United States sloop-of-war *Niagara*.' There was so much talk about the *Niagara* on board of the *Georgia* that she evidently had taken possession of his imagination.[43]

According to the *O.R.N.*, a boarding party did hold the clipper for two days, but on two separate dates. *Georgia* twice left the anchorage to chase a sail, but returned before dark both times.[44] Morgan may well have spent two days in charge of the prize, but no nights.

Yet Hanks takes Morgan's report of wild talk about *Niagara* aboard the cruiser to show the two vessels nearly met during *Georgia*'s passage across the South Atlantic. 'Continuing her cruise in the direction of the African coast, the *Georgia* eluded the U.S.S. *Niagara* in the darkness of a stormy night. . . .'[45] There is nothing in the *O.R.N.* to indicate a near meeting of the two warships at that time. Well over a month after *Georgia* crossed the Atlantic to the Cape Colony, the U.S. consul at Cape Town dispatched a frantic message to Rio de Janeiro asking for *Niagara*'s presence, if she could be found in South American waters.[46] Nothing appears in either the *O.R.N.*'s abstract of *Georgia*'s log or the reports from the captain of *Niagara* to create the impression that the Confederates narrowly 'eluded' the Federal warship. Hanks's mistake further removes the memory of an event that never happened from its origin in reality.

38. George W. Dalzell, *The Flight From the Flag* (Chapel Hill, 1941), pp. 175-76.

39. It is worth noting that Rentz's warning about Morgan's trustworthiness concerning dates and names is entirely unwarranted. Dates, names, and even time of day are consistently correct in Morgan's work and for the very good reason that he employed the *O.R.N.* Morgan cites the *O.R.N.* elsewhere in his work, but like the others, refuses to allow the truth to interfere with a fine story. Morgan, *Recollections*, p. 195, 196.

40. Morgan, *Recollections*, p. 142.

41. Ibid., p. 143.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid., pp. 143-44.

44. Woods and Rush, eds., *O.R.N.*, pp. 814-15.

45. Hanks, *Proceedings*, p. 536.

46. Woods and Rush, eds., *O.R.N.*, p. 476-77.

The *O.R.N.* states the Confederates captured *City of Bath* three days later, on 28 June, and bonded her for $40,000 due to the neutral cargo aboard. Maury transferred the crew and passengers of *Constitution* to the bonded vessel while the Confederates continued refueling from the condemned clipper's cargo. It took another ten days to fill the cruiser's coal bunkers before burning the clipper valued at $40,270.[47] *Georgia* had cruised Brazilian waters for nearly two months, and her presence could no longer be considered secret. Maury therefore decided to cross the Atlantic and sighted Table Mountain, South Africa, thirty-eight days later on 15 August 1863. During the crossing the cruiser captured the American ship *Prince of Wales* carrying neutral cargo and bonded her for $40,000.[48]

Morgan relates the cruiser entered Simon's Bay on 16 August and suffered an intentional engine breakdown just as she reached the harbor. This enabled her to escape the twenty-four-hour time limit the British imposed on the belligerents. After thirteen days, by Morgan's account, *Georgia* sailed to intercept the homeward-bound tea fleet in hopes of finding an American vessel among the convoy. Morgan related that the hunt for Americans proved fruitless but extremely fortunate, because this placed *Georgia* offshore when U.S.S. *Vanderbilt* reached Simon's Bay. However, the distance between the two ships was so short that Maury saw no choice but to order a suicidal attack. Yet somehow *Vanderbilt* failed to notice *Georgia* (Morgan estimated the distance between them to be five miles), and the cruiser's weak engines and fouled bottom slowed her as to make the interception impossible.[49]

There was a close call with the Union steamer, but not quite so close as Morgan remembered. Maury reported:

> We made a narrow escape from the *Vanderbilt*, as she went in a short time afterwards (about sixteen hours). Our safety was owing, probably, to our having run to the southward in chase of a vessel.[50]

However, Morgan's account is far more exciting and Hanks accepts it without question, stating *Georgia* miraculously escaped challenge by the U.S.S. *Vanderbilt*, which was hurrying into Table Bay and had the Confederate under her guns, but evidently took her for an English tea carrier.[51]

Other historians have shied away from Morgan's dramatic confrontation but accepted his remembrance of *Georgia* setting out to intercept 'the fleet of Indiamen loaded with silks and tea from the Orient' rounding the Cape of Good Hope.[52] In Bern Anderson's *By Sea and By River*, Morgan is never mentioned, but his influence is seen when Anderson asserted that *Georgia* escaped *Vanderbilt* because 'Maury let discretion govern and slipped away under cover of a homeward-bound British tea fleet.'[53] Dalzell claims *Georgia* 'eluded her by joining a British tea fleet running home from the East. . . .'[54]

The trouble with these escape-with-the-tea-fleet accounts is that Maury's report states the escape was due to a run to investigate 'a vessel.'[55] It is also important that the abstract log in the *O.R.N.* carefully notes all vessels hailed by *Georgia* and only four are noted on the day in question, including the American ship *John Watts*.[56] This vessel was captured within sight of the mainland and after *Vanderbilt*'s arrival. Due to her neutral cargo, Maury bonded *John Watts* and headed back into the Atlantic.

Georgia sailed from South African waters to Cherbourg, France, on 1 September and made her last capture on the way. This was the ship *Bold Hunter*, and being American in all respects, received the torch.[57] Arriving at Cherbourg 28 October, *Georgia* was in such poor sailing condition that further commerce raiding was out of the question. For months she lay in Cherbourg and the last two log entries found in the *O.R.N.* betray a stoic attempt to retain a quietly dying sense of dignity:

> November 7, —— At 8 A.M. hoisted the new national ensign adopted by the Congress of the Confederate States of America.
> January 18, 1864 - Still lying in the harbor of Cherbourg.[58]

47. Ibid., p. 815.
48. Ibid.
49. Morgan, *Recollections*, p. 153.
50. Woods and Rush, eds., *O.R.N.*, p. 807.
51. Hanks, *Proceedings*, p. 536.
52. Morgan, *Recollections*, p. 153.
53. Bern Anderson, *By Sea and By River* (Westport, Connecticut, 1962), p. 209.
54. Dalzell, *Flight*, p. 176.
55. Woods and Rush, eds., *O.R.N.*, p. 807.
56. Ibid., p. 816.
57. Ibid., p. 817.
58. Ibid., p. 818.

Georgia made one last voyage under Confederate colors in February 1864, when ordered to meet C.S.S. *Rappahannock* off the coast of Morocco. *Georgia* had orders to transfer her armaments to the other cruiser, but *Rappahannock* never left France. After six days *Georgia* sailed back to France and a short stay at Bordeaux. She sailed to Liverpool where the colors were struck for the last time 10 May 1864; a year, a month, and a day since the flag first broke.

The Confederates sold the cruiser to a British subject who soon lost her to U.S.S. *Niagara*, the phantom that had chased *Georgia* so long. An American prize court sold her to a northern merchant, and in 1867 the former cruiser wrecked on the coast of Newfoundland, at least according to Morgan.[59]

59. Morgan, *Recollections*, p. 183.

Hawley Stevens is presently a third-year law student at the University of Georgia, previously completing an M.A. in history from the same institution in 1984. His affinity for maritime history arises from working deck on Mississippi River towboats prior to graduate school.

Sinking of *William P. Frye*

By Phyllis A. Hall

THE large cruiser bore down upon the American sailing barque, *William P. Frye*. There was no name on the cruiser, and she was not flying a flag. The captain of *Frye*, H. H. Kiehne of Baltimore, had ignored an earlier signal of the larger ship to heave to. The United States was neutral in the great European war, and Captain Kiehne had seen no reason to stop at the command of the unidentified vessel. Now, as the larger vessel neared, he brought his ship to a standstill.[1]

The unidentified cruiser was the German sea raider, *Prinz Eitel Friedrich*, one of eleven raiders that were regular or auxiliary cruisers. The raiders attacked Allied seaborne trade, pitting strategy and luck against the overwhelming sea power of Great Britain. They destroyed the commerce of their enemies before they were hunted down and destroyed themselves. The raiders of the cruiser group were *Karlsrule, Emden, Dresden,* and *Konigsberg*. The auxiliary cruisers were converted liners and armed merchantmen. *Kronprinz Wilhelm, Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse,* and *Prinz Eitel Friedrich* were converted liners while *Moewe, Wolf,* and *Seedaler* were armed merchantmen.[2]

Prinz Eitel Friedrich sent a boarding party to *Frye*. It was 3 P.M. on 27 January 1915. Once on board the American ship, the German spokesman asked: 'Where are you going?'

'To Queenstown [Ireland],' came the reply.

'What is your cargo?'

'Grain.'

'What kind of grain?'

'Wheat.'

There was a pause, and then the German said, 'Better you stop.'[3]

German maritime law assumed foodstuffs were conditional contraband if they were headed for a fortified port. *Frye*'s papers revealed that the wheat was bound for 'Queenstown, Falmouth or Plymouth for orders.' Plymouth was a fortified port.[4] The German officers held a conference on *Eitel*. They determined that the wheat was contraband and it should be thrown overboard.[5] Captain Kiehne protested when he was informed, but he was ignored.[6]

A German lieutenant and squad of men came aboard to assist the crew of *Frye* in jettisoning the wheat. While the wheat was being thrown overboard, *Prinz Eitel Friedrich* suddenly steamed off after the French sailing ship *Jacobsen,* becalmed about ten miles away. *Eitel* returned to *Frye* about 10 P.M. after sinking *Jacobsen*.[7]

The wheat was not being thrown overboard fast enough. *Prinz Eitel* had to keep moving to avoid detection by British warships. So, the German captain, Max Thierichens, decided to sink *Frye*. Captain Kiehne protested that he was the American master of an American ship, but his protests were of no avail.

About 2 A.M. on 28 January 1915, Kiehne and his crew were ordered to pack their clothes and go aboard *Prinz Eitel*.[8] Captain Kiehne's wife and two sons were among those transported to the German raider. The Germans placed a charge of dynamite in the hold of *Frye*.

At 8 A.M. *Frye* exploded like a gun going off.[9] The dynamite left a gaping hole in the ship. Fifty-three minutes later, *Frye* went down stern first at 29-45 south, 24-50 west off the coast of South America. Mrs. Kiehne, watching with the others on the deck, later told how the sinking sent a pang to her heart.[10]

The thirty-two refugees from *Frye* now joined the passengers and crews of three other vessels aboard *Eitel*. At this time the accepted practice was to remove all persons from on board a ship before sinking it. What made the sinking of *Lusitania* in May of 1915 so terrible was that crew and passengers were not removed. In January, *Eitel* had sunk three ships and

1. H. H. Kiehne as quoted in: Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot*, hereafter *VP*, 11 March 1915, p. 1.
2. Roy Alexander, *The Cruise of the Raider 'Wolf'* (New Haven: 1939), pp. ix-xv.
3. A. L. Powell as quoted in: Newport News *Daily Press*, hereafter *DP*, 14 March 1915, pp. 1, 11.
4. *VP*, 13 March 1915, p. 2.
5. H. H. Kiehne, *VP*, 11 March 1915, p. 1.
6. *DP*, 11 March 1915, p. 1.
7. H. H. Kiehne, *VP*, 11 March 1915, p. 1.
8. A. L. Powell, *DP*, 14 March 1915, pp. 1, 11.
9. Powell in 'Captive Texan Kept Diary of *Eitel* Cruise' said the explosion occurred at 5 A.M.; Kiehne at 8 A.M.
10. *VP*, 11 March 1915, p. 1.

Frye. In February *Eitel* sent one French and three British ships to the bottom. The passengers and crew of each of these vessels were housed aboard the German raider.

By March, *Prinz Eitel* had 333 extra persons on board, 86 passengers and 247 crewmen from eight ships.[11] Food was sometimes meager and the water supply was low. *Eitel* was in need of repair. One boiler was inoperative. Thierichens needed to put into some neutral port to discharge the extra passengers and crewmen and place *Eitel* in drydock for repairs. Captain Kiehne proved useful because he knew the harbors along the East Coast of the United States.

Eitel successfully eluded British warships as she travelled toward the United States. On the night of 9 March, she was off the Virginia Capes. Warning came over the wireless that four British warships were in the vicinity. The order to the German crew was 'everybody to the guns; nobody to sleep.'[12] A German officer thought he saw a black hull looming in the darkness. With all lights extinguished, the commerce raider made a dash for the territorial waters of the United States. Captain Kiehne piloted the ship through the shallow waters of Hampton Roads.[13]

On the morning of 10 March 1915, the German auxiliary cruiser dropped anchor in Hampton Roads off Old Point Comfort. The day was brisk and sunny. The U.S. Coast Guard ship *Onondaga* went alongside to make the usual inquiry and report to Washington. *Prinz Eitel Friedrich* was sea-scarred and rusty with seaweed a foot long hanging from her hull. The sudden appearance of the long-missing raider caused an international sensation. Americans learned for the first time of the sinking of *Frye*.

With the release of the crews and passengers from *Eitel's* victims, the story of the cruise of the German raider appeared in the press. Government officials termed the *Frye* sinking an 'unfriendly act.'[14] President Wilson promised an official inquiry into the *Frye* case: 'A most searching inquiry will be undertaken and whatever action is taken will be based on a result of the inquiry.'[15] On 12 March 1915, the *New York Times* published New York press comments on the sinking of *Frye*. The *Herald* called it 'vandalism.' The *Tribune* called it '. . . high-handed interference with neutral commerce.' The *Sun* called it 'a grave mistake.' The *Press* lamented the 'stupidity' of the act. The *American* said, 'The *Frye* is utterly indefensible. . . .'[16]

The view of the United States government was that there was no justification for the sinking of *Frye*. The administration believed the German government could not justify the actions of Captain Thierichens and would make complete reparations for the loss of *Frye*.[17]

On 13 March 1915, the German ambassador, Count von Bernstorff, called upon the State Department and informally assured the Americans that: 'The German government has not the slightest intention of disregarding legal niceties.' Von Bernstorff explained that the captain of *Prinz Eitel* did not know that a new German prize order was issued on 3 August by the Berlin government. This prize order specified that the consignment of foodstuffs to a fortified port was not adequate evidence of contraband. Captain Thierichens had followed outdated guidelines and the case would be settled in accordance with the recognized principles of international law.[18]

Frye was the pride of the United States merchant fleet. She was one of the last of the old square-rigged sailing vessels. She was built of steel in Bath, Maine, in 1901 and named for Senator Frye of Maine. With a length of 332 feet, a width of 45 feet, and a depth of 26 feet, *Frye* carried 3,374 gross tonnage and was one of the largest ships of her kind. She was painted a glistening white and had teak decks and mahogany-panelled cabins. In port and at sea, *Frye* was always immaculately clean. She was one of the last vessels left in the merchant marine in 1915 resembling the fast clipper ships of the century before. Thirty-eight stockholders owned *Frye*, and one of them, Samuel Sewall, called the sinking 'piracy.'[19]

Public outcry to the sinking of *Frye* is only half the story. The American editor who said the *Frye* sinking was indefensible went on to say: '. . . Germany has but to pay the bill and give the commander the Iron Cross.'[20]

11. 'German Cruiser at Newport News,' *Army-Navy Journal*, March 1915, p. 337.
12. *New York Times*, hereafter *NYT*, 13 March 1915, p. 1.
13. John Spencer, 'Sea Raiders in Hampton Roads—Just 40 Years ago this Week,' *VP*, 6 March 1955, part 3.
14. *VP*, 11 March 1915, p. 1.
15. *NYT*, 12 March 1915, p. 2.
16. Ibid.
17. *NYT*, 13 March 1915, p. 1.
18. *NYT*, 14 March 1915, section 3, pp. 1, 2.
19. *NYT*, 12 March 1915, p. 1.
20. Ibid., p. 2.

The feelings expressed by this editor were not isolated. The romance of the voyage of *Prinz Eitel* captured the popular imagination. No lives had been lost, and most of the released passengers and crews praised their captors. Captain King of the British ship *Invercoe* told reporters that the Germans had treated their prisoners 'royally.' Captain Moussion of *Floride* explained: 'My late passengers were considerably treated, and the Germans were intent on showing them every possible courtesy.' Even those who complained about the food, water, and quarters on *Eitel* like Captain Wedgewood of *Willerby* admitted: 'Within limits, and no doubt, these were imposed by circumstances, the Germans behaved decently toward us.'[21]

There was a good deal of excitement at Newport News, a Hampton Roads seaport. Captain Kiehne of *Frye*, and his wife and children, were among those posing for photographs with the German officers and men aboard *Eitel*. Even moving pictures were taken of the ship and the crew. The crew of *Frye* sent the German cruiser eight kegs of beer for the crew and cigars for the officers and mess.[22]

What seemed to be a diplomatic problem developed when two members of the *Frye* crew supposedly were being held against their will on *Eitel*. This incident could have dampened popular enthusiasm had it not turned out that the two were German citizens who willingly joined the crew of *Eitel*.[23]

The press stimulated interest in the raider with extensive news coverage. Telegrams and letters filled with admiration for the daring exploits of the raider poured into *Eitel* from all parts of the United States. The German captain commented: 'And the letters come from children, too, addressed in their baby handwriting. . . . It touches the heart to get those kindly letters.'[24]

Except for the Lafayette Escadrille, there was not much romantic about the European war until *Eitel* docked in Newport News. Americans were involved in the sea raider's escapades because she had sunk an American ship, and also because her whole cruise was the stuff of dime novels.

In seven months at sea, *Eitel* sunk eleven ships. Her record as a commerce raider was not spectacular compared to *Kronprinz Wilhelm*. Yet, it was *Eitel* that was painted black on one side and white on the other for camouflage. It was *Eitel* that had an additional smokestack which could be raised when necessary to disguise the vessel. It was *Eitel* that flew kites on clear days with small wires attached to the ship's radio to increase her radio reception. Combine these strategic maneuvers with hair-raising adventures and testimonies of chivalric treatment of captured civilians and crews by the Germans, and the result is a tremendously appealing story. An article in the *Literary Digest* announced: 'Romance has returned to the merchant marine.'[25]

The incongruity of the situation did not escape everyone. The *Army-Navy Journal* pointed out that while Captain Thierichens should be held personally responsible, he was 'received with open arms as though he were a hero returning with his laurels, in the shape of the spoils of the American vessel. He was feted and permitted to put his vessel into drydock. . . .'[26] An editorial in the *New York Times* complained about Thierichens being invited to assist at the launching of the largest warship the United States had ever built and being one of the most prominent figures at the festivities.[27] A political cartoon in the *Virginian-Pilot* further underlined the point.

Such mixed reactions to the sinking of *Frye* can be explained. In March of 1915, the United States was still neutral in the European war. It would be another two years before the United States entered the war. American lives had not yet been lost. The first American casualities occurred in April of 1915 when a German U-boat fired upon the American ship *Gulflight* killing two Americans and in May of 1915 when 124 Americans were lost with the sinking of the British liner, *Lusitania*.

Even though the United States was neutral in March of 1915, American sentiment tended to favor the Allies in the war. Yet, at the same time Americans resented British control of the seas, especially the high-handed methods of the British in enforcing their blockade of Germany. With a tradition of freedom of the seas and of favoring the underdog, many Americans tended to admire the commerce raiders, which flaunted British sea power.

In addition, there were over 11 million Americans of German descent in the United States. Americans

21. 'The *Prinz Eitel*'s Victims,' *Literary Digest*, 50 (10 April 1915), 837-38.
22. *VP*, 13 March 1915, p. 2.
23. *VP*, 18 March 1915, p. 1.
24. *NYT*, 15 March 1915, p. 2.
25. *Literary Digest*, p. 837.
26. *Army-Navy Journal*, March 1915.
27. *NYT*, 18 March 1915, p. 10.

VIRGINIAN-PILOT AND THE NORFOLK LANDMARK, THURSDAY, MARCH 11, 1915.

THE CAPTAIN AND CREW OF THE WILLIAM P. FRYE, WHICH—

[Copyright: 1915: By John T. McCutcheon.]

—was sunk by the Prinz Eitel Friedrich, will—

—be down to see the Prinz Eitel off when it leaves Newport News for the open sea.

with relatives among the Central Powers formed the largest single immigrant group in the country.[28] Upon arrival of *Eitel* in Newport News, August Losson, the ship's paymaster, received a telegram from his Aunt Bertha in New Jersey. He also had relatives in New York and Chicago. And Losson was not alone. There were strong feelings of Germanic kinship. For example, German-American children collected money to send the seamen of *Eitel* Red Cross boxes containing soap, sweets, and other items.[29]

The *Frye* issue was defused by the willingness of the German government to make amends. In a diplomatic note dated 4 April 1915, the German government agreed to pay for both ship and cargo. The settlement was based on old commercial treaties dating from 1799 and 1828 between the United States and Prussia and not on modern international law. The amount of the indemnity was referred to the German Prize Court in Hamburg. The American government felt the matter should be adjusted between the two governments and not by a German prize court. In October of 1915, after lengthy diplomatic correspondence, Germany and the United States consented to settle the *Frye* indemnity by a joint commission.[30] The amount of the indemnity still was not resolved when the United States entered the European war in April of 1917.[31]

Captain Thierichens had been insisting since *Eitel* arrived in Newport News that she would be returning to sea. Five British warships lay waiting off the Virginia Capes. On 6 April, *Eitel* made ready to depart. Captain Kiehne had told the press repeatedly that *Eitel* must intern. On 8 April, Captain Thierichens applied for internment. Thierichens's delayed decision had tied up British warships for more than three weeks in the Hampton Roads area. Thierichens's request for internment was granted, and *Eitel* was transferred to the Norfolk Naval Shipyard.

The fate of *Prinz Eitel* had just been resolved when on 11 April 1915 another German sea raider, *Kronprinz Wilhelm,* stole past British warships under the cover of darkness into the refuge of Hampton Roads. Public attention now shifted to the heroic exploits of *Kronprinz.*

The sinking of *Frye* may have been, as some scholars think,[32] the first of a number of incidents that led America into the European war. More accurately, the sinking of *Frye* illustrates how precarious American loyalties were in March of 1915. It would be another two years before the weight of American opinion would swing against Germany. Captain Moussion of the French ship *Floride,* one of the ships sunk by *Eitel,* recounted the following incident aboard the raider:

> The alarm was sounded, that is the call to quarters for the crew in advance of action. Some of the ladies were very much upset and frightened. At once a German officer came to me and asked me to reassure my countrywomen. He said, 'Tell them we are not barbarians. We are not the Huns our enemies have pictured us.'[33]

In March of 1915, the Germans were not yet barbaric Huns in the popular imagination, and there was so much enthusiasm for *Prinz Eitel*'s exploits that the fact that an American ship was one of her victims became obscured.

28. Thomas A. Bailey and David M. Kennedy, *The American Pageant* (Lexington, Mass., 1983), p. 651.
29. *VP*, 19 April 1915, p. 1.
30. *U.S. Naval Institute Proceedings*, Vol. 41, May-June 1915, p. 987; July-August 1915, p. 1353; November-December 1915, p. 2118.
31. S. D. Fers, *The Problem of Neutrality When the World is at War* (Washington, 1917), p. 33; Thomas A. Bailey and Paul B. Ryan, *The Lusitania Disaster* (New York, 1975), p. 43.
32. Park Rouse, Jr., *Endless Harbor* (Newport News, 1963), p. 51.
33. *Literary Digest*, p. 837.

Phyllis A. Hall, presently living in Charlottesville, Virginia, received a B.A. from Saint Bonaventure, New York, and an M.A. from the University of Illinois, and a Ph.D. from Columbia University. Dr. Hall, a free-lance writer, has written articles on maritime history for several publications.

Book Reviews

JOHN BACH, *A Maritime History of Australia* (Sydney & London, 1982). 5⅛" x 7⅝", paper, xiv + 481 pages, notes, bibliography, index, illustrations. A $8.95.

This is a well-written and comprehensive history of Australian maritime activity, including the operation of ships, the characteristics and improvements of the major harbors, and the social and economic factors affecting these developments. Following an introduction, there are chapters treating primarily the periods 1788-1850, the 1850s, 1860-1914, 1918-1939, and 1945-1975. The first period is divided into a chapter on overseas shipping and one on internal shipping. The former suffered from the East India Company's monopoly (finally ended in 1834) of all British trade between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan, though trade between Australia and India by country ships was permitted. Another handicap was the Navigation Act, which since the mid-seventeenth century had restricted trade between Britain and her colonies and between each of the colonies to British or colonial shipping. The restrictive aspects of these laws eventually outweighed their protective advantages and the Navigation Act was finally repealed in 1849. Another problem was the scarcity of cargo from Australia to Europe, but this was solved, in part at least, by products of whaling and fishing industries and later by wool.

Australia having been established as a penal colony, every effort was made to prevent the escape of the convicts by sea, but the original regulations forbidding the building of boats for private persons proved unenforceable. The first steamer, *Sophia Jane*, came out in 1831, and a number of early steamers and companies are mentioned, of which respectively *Shamrock* (1840) and the Hunter River Company (her owners) were amongst the more successful.

The discovery of gold in Australia about 1851 produced a great increase in immigration from overseas, and the decade following saw the introduction of clipper ships, sailing particularly from Liverpool. Steam shipping to Australia developed slowly due to the difficulty of providing fuel over long routes. The Peninsular & Oriental Steam Navigation Company started a service to Australia from Singapore with *Formosa* (1852), but it was unprofitable and suspended in a few years, being resumed in 1858 under contract.

Eighteen fifty-one saw the establishment of the Australasian S.N. Co., the earliest of the great interstate steamship companies, which later became the Australasian United Steam Navigation Company and lasted until 1961. In spite of difficult conditions for navigation, a substantial local trade developed in the 1850s between Sydney and New South Wales ports to the north and to the south, eventually dominated by the North Coast S.N. Co. and the Illawarra & South Coast S.N. Co. respectively, until they were forced out of business by changed social and economic conditions. The former was liquidated in 1954, shareholders receiving 42 s. 6 d. for each one pound share, while the latter sold its assets in 1952, paying 41 s. per one pound share.

World trade grew from 1,450 million pounds sterling in 1860 to 8,360 million in 1913, of which British shipping carried a large share, reaching a maximum of 60.2 percent of cargo in 1890. The trade of Australia, though small by comparison, showed a corresponding increase. The period 1860-1914 also saw the growth of organized labor, and conflict between the Steamship Owners' Association and the Seamen's Union, the Wharf Laborers' Union, and others. Tariff policies differed with the different states, but creation of the Commonwealth produced more system. In 1906 it decided to impose its own Navigation Act to protect Australian industrial (labor) conditions, though due to the war its implementation was deferred until 1921.

Two outstanding features of the latter half of the 1860-1914 period were the Conference system and mail subsidies. The former is discussed in detail by the author, with the conclusion of the Royal Commission on Shipping Rings, which reported in 1909, and the Imperial Shipping Committee (1920) that the Conference system with its deferred rebates produced significant benefits for both shipowners and shippers. By the end of the prewar period there were seven major interstate shipping companies, A.U.S.N. (mentioned above), Howard Smith and Huddart, Parker, both dating from the gold rush years, Melbourne S.S. Co.,

which did not appear as such until 1895, though its roots went back much earlier, and Adelaide S.S. Co., McIlwraith, McEacharn & Co. (which originated in London), and the Union S.S. Co. of New Zealand, all of which dated from 1875. Ruthless competition amongst them eventually led to the formation of the coastal shipping ring and of the Australasian S.S. Owners' Federation in June 1899.

Intrastate shipping, which by now has declined to almost nothing for reasons both political and economic, still exists in Western Australia and in Queensland because of the long distances involved and the difficulties of land transport. The Western Australian State Shipping Service was started in 1912 and still exists. Competition was until recently provided by the joint service of the West Australian S.N. Co. and the Blue Funnel Line, which also operated to Singapore.

Excess tonnage from the emergency building of World War I resulted in a depression that never really vanished. The Imperial Shipping Committee was set up in 1920, its major work with respect to Conference trade to Australia was completed by 1930. It was renewed again in 1937 for six years. The Overseas Shipping Conference was set up in Australia in 1929, and there were corresponding associations of shippers.

In World War I about 45 percent of interstate tonnage was withdrawn from the Coast and sent overseas on imperial duties. The passenger fleet had sunk from 174,913 tons in 1913 to 102,664 tons in 1923 and interest in this field did not revive until 1929, about which year the A.U.S.N. Co. added the secondhand *Ormiston* and *Orungal* and Huddart, Parker built the new motorship *Westralia* and the Adelaide S.S. Co. the new motorship *Manunda*. The worst of the depression came early in 1932, but conditions improved later in the year and led to the building of the fine passenger motorships *Manoora* (1934)(Adelaide S.S. Co.), *Duntroon* (1935)(Melbourne S.S. Co.), and *Kanimbla* (1936)(McIlwraith, McEacharn). The new ships were costly to run, but were profitable for their owners. Normal services were resumed by the intrastate companies after World War I, but prohibitive replacement costs led to much of the service being discontinued.

After World War II oceanic shipping retained some of its general pre-1939 characteristics, but there was a great increase in the bulk carriage of both wet and dry cargoes, with a corresponding increase in the size of the vessels, and the picture was further changed by the introduction of container ships. In the latter field two consortia, Overseas Containers, Ltd. and Associated Container Transport, Ltd. are especially prominent. Passenger carrying, except for cruises, has been taken over almost entirely by the aeroplane.

Rampant nationalism, a feature of the present-day shipping scene, has contaminated Australia as well, as illustrated by the 'Jones policy,' whose aim is the carrying of 40 percent of all Australian overseas cargoes, both inward and outward, by Australian owned and built ships, a situation which has proved difficult to achieve. Incidentally, the Australian National Line, although government owned, operates on commercial principles.

Australian coastal shipping declined steadily in the first postwar decade due to industrial (labor) unrest, increased competition from land transport, and obsolescence of ships which were too costly to replace. However, adoption of specialized ships for bulk carriage and rationalization of general-cargo carriage by unitization techniques have reversed the trend, with the Australian National Line and the Broken Hill Proprietary particularly active. Both seagoing and dockside labor have been very aggressive, but their victories are largely Pyrrhic, as they have led to a substantial reduction in the need for their services—a situation not confined to Australia.

Several chapters of the book are devoted to Australian seaports, particularly Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, Fremantle, Brisbane, and Hobart, and their characteristics, problems, and development. Sydney has been under a cloud, due largely to labor unrest and bad planning, whereas the Melbourne Harbour Trust in the decade 1965-1975 made improvements which placed it among the six top container ports in the world.

As will be seen from the foregoing outline, the present work is primarily devoted to the general history of maritime enterprise in Australia, without treating individual ships or individual shipowners in detail, which may make the book dull to those whose interest is primarily in ships. The complicated political aspects are well treated, but are not likely to appeal to the majority of American readers. It has to be noted that the book is a reissue of a work first published in 1976, so that the developments of the last eight or nine years, for better or worse, are not included. Nevertheless, the book can be recommended as giving an excellent background reference for the subject. Index and bibliography are extensive. In the latter it might be noted that

N. L. McKellar's excellent history of the A.U.S.N. Co. has appeared under the title *From Derby Round to Burketown* (University of Queensland Press, 1977).

E. K. HAVILAND

Baltimore, Maryland

OSKAR H. K. SPATE, *The Spanish Lake, The Pacific since Magellan,* Vol. I (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1979). 7″ x 9″, cloth. XXIV, 372 pages, illustrations, maps, index. $39.50.

OSKAR H. K. SPATE, *Monopolists and Freebooters, The Pacific since Magellan,* Vol. II (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983). 7″ x 9″, cloth, XXI, 426 pages, illustrations, maps, index. $59.50.

These two books represent an important addition to our understanding of the maritime history of the Pacific Ocean from the time of Magellan until the last years of the eighteenth century when Cook's voyages, the settlement of Australia and the arrival of Yankee traders, whalers and mariners opened up a new era. All in all, they constitute a scholarly event of real importance because their author, O. H. K. Spate, in producing them has managed to create a masterwork which will seldom again be matched in the annals of writing about the sea.

His canvas is a broad one. We are shown not only what happened along the shores of East Asia and the western coast of the Americas for almost three centuries as Chinese, Japanese, Indonesian, Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, English, French and Russian merchants, pirates, explorers and adventurers sailed the waters of this mighty ocean, the author also explains how a knowledge of its shores and islands reached the world of Western European civilization. He is also able to relate why all this happened when it did and why certain protagonists were successful and others failed in their efforts to use and dominate this oceanic world.

The first volume, *The Spanish Lake,* tells how during the sixteenth century Iberian mariners from Portugal proceeded east from Indian shores and Malacca to play an important role in the trade of China and Japan. At the same time their Iberian neighbors, the Spanish, accomplished the even greater feat of constructing vessels on the west coast of newly conquered Mexico, Panama and Peru and then sailed west to colonize the Philippines. This resulted in a cross-Pacific galleon trade which tapped the riches of East Asia via Manila and Acapulco and then back across the Atlantic to Seville. The extraordinary systems of trade and feats of navigation in the Spanish and Portuguese developed during this Iberian century are carefully described for us—which were only challenged briefly by the intrusion of that intrepid English captain Sir Francis Drake. There is also an attempt to analyze how the Chinese and Japanese, both of whom had the business acumen and technical skill to challenge the Iberians in East Asia, failed to do so.

Volume two entitled *Monopolists and Freebooters* tells a much more confused story of how the Dutch replaced the Portuguese as the major traders in the Far East despite the difficulties they had with Coxinga in Formosa and Japanese maritime strength at the time of those great shoguns, Hideyoshi and Ieyasu. The author also explains the importance of the arrival in force of the English, the French and the Russians in the Pacific and how late in the eighteenth century there was a revival of Spanish naval and maritime and naval strength during the reign of Charles III, especially along the shores of the Americas. He also tells how during these same centuries the Japanese under Tokugawa rule closed themselves off from the outside world as the Chinese had done a century earlier.

Mysteries still confront the reader of these important volumes. It is still not clear whence came the positive genius displayed by the Portuguese and Spaniards during their pioneering sixteenth century movement into Pacific waters. It is certainly not unrelated to the religious missionary effects of Franciscian's and Jesuits in the Philippines, Japan and China. It is also a puzzle why the Mings turned their backs on the maritime and commercial accomplishments of the later Sungs and the Mongols, and why the Japanese did the same a century or so later on. It is clear, however, that Western European and Russian success in the Pacific owed almost as much to the failure of these great East Asian peoples to exploit their maritime opportunities as it did to their own efforts. And this was to remain so when, during the last decades of the eighteenth century North Americans joined their European and Latin American cousins in exploiting the riches which the Pacific and its shores made available to those who were willing to adventure upon its waters.

ARCHIBALD R. LEWIS

Salem, Massachusetts

JOHN MASEFIELD, *Sea Life in Nelson's Time* (London: Conway Maritime Press, 1984). 7½" x 9½", cloth, 160 pages, illustrations, introductions, notes, appendix, index. $9.50.

One of the salient characteristics of maritime history is that classic works in the field have a very long lifetime and new additions of the older works keep reappearing in updated editions. John Masefield's *Sea Life in Nelson's Time* is a prime example of this tendency. A pioneering work in the field of naval social history and one of the first major works of an author who was destined to become the Poet Laureate of Great Britain, this book was originally printed in 1905 and has influenced a number of prominent naval historians who have been active during the twentieth century. Indeed, it has, in paraphrased form, provided the basis for many a background chapter in works dealing with all phases of the history and exploits of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century fleets and seamen.

This latest addition, complete with an introduction by Christopher C. Lloyd, is a word-for-word reiteration of the earlier editions albeit reset in more modern type and with added illustrations drawn primarily from oil paintings and cartoons of the Georgian period. Although a slender volume, it is handsomely mounted and makes a very pleasing addition to any maritime book collection.

The real question that needs to be dealt with in a work of this sort, however, is how well it has stood up to the test of time. *Sea Life in Nelson's Time* certainly broke new ground when it first appeared but that was nearly eighty years ago. Maritime research techniques have improved greatly since then and a wealth of new material has been unearthed. Writing styles have changed as well and standards of footnoting and bibliographic citation have all been improved and made more complete and rigorous. For these reasons the practice of bringing out a simple reprinting of Masefield's work must be questioned. At this point it would have been much more worthwhile to publish an extensively annotated edition with copious margin notes detailing instances wherein more recent scholarship has either confirmed or challenged the original author's assertions. Some concessions also need to be made to modern ethnic and literary sensibilities as well. Masefield continually cites 'the Jews' for their unmerciful fleecing and cheating of the sailors during their time in port. This may have truly been the case but the impression given by the book is that the entire Jewish population of Britain consisted of waterfront merchants grimly intent on squeezing hard-earned shillings out of a captive clientele of poor Jack Tars. In this day and age an implied slur like that has to be either documented or otherwise put in perspective and since Masefield is no longer around to do it, the responsibility lies with the editors to supply the necessary corrective marginalia.

Another example of an instance where further commentary is needed is in the area of ship design and effectiveness. Although it was not the prime focus of his subject, Masefield was content simply to repeat the grumblings of the old salts of Nelson's day and deliver a stinging indictment of the material quality and performance of British ships relative to those of the French and Spanish. Thus the legend of the drastic inferiority of British sailing warships to their counterparts in the Continental navies was perpetuated and has been repeated *ad nauseum* right down to this day. Fortunately much needed corrective work has recently been done in this area and the editors of *Sea Life in Nelson's Time* are certainly remiss in not pointing it out in some way.

Aside from these criticisms, Masefield's work still has much to recommend it. The writing is lean and muscular so that the chapters flow nicely and are a pleasure to read. The subject matter itself is fascinating and the author does an excellent job of conveying the hard lives and dismal prospects of the men who served in the great 'wooden walls' during a prolonged period of time when they were one of the decisive weapons of global warfare. The information related and the social philosophy that is reflected by that information is not only amusing but valuable as well. Indeed, a close study of all institutional and personnel policies that characterized Georgian organizations is relevant because they form the point of departure that takes us through the Victorian reform movements and into our present age wherein we attempt to make rational use of concepts developed by the social sciences and psychology to govern the way we treat people in authoritarian situations. A retrospective look at the inflexible and scarcely human institutional philosophy of the British navy in Nelson's time serves to remind us how far we've come and should also make evident why it is necessary to keep on making progress. An American sailor serving on a thirteen-month deploy-

ment in the Indian Ocean in a noisy and somewhat overcrowded aircraft carrier has at least some things in common with his early nineteenth-century counterparts who maintained the blockade of the French channel ports for years on end during the long wars of the French Revolution.

JAMES E. VALLE, Ph.D.
Delaware State College

BRIAN LAVERY, *The Ship of the Line*, Volume I, The Development of the Battlefleet, 1650-1850 (London: Conway Maritime Press, 1983. Published and distributed in the United States and Canada by the United States Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, Maryland). 10″ x 12″, cloth, 224 pages, illustrations, draughts, introduction, notes, appendices, bibliography, index. $29.95.

This book is the first of a two-volume set dedicated to illuminating the evolution, development, and technology of the British ship-of-the-line between 1650 and 1850. In tackling this ambitious subject, Brian Lavery has also attempted to strike a new balance between the highly technical approach taken by James Lee in *The Masting and Rigging of English Ships of War 1825-1860* and the bureaucratic administrative bias of Daniel A. Baugh in *British Naval Administration in the Age of Walpole*. Lavery has staked out his ground in the heretofore neglected area where technical and material possibilities interface with institutional and organizational considerations and produce the ships which naval officers and men must sail and fight in. To read this book is to become aware of a vast body of ship design and construction lore which is at once antiquarian and strikingly modern.

For most of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries the sailing ship-of-the-line was the decisive naval weapons system in European warfare. It was also arguably the most complex and intricate structural artifact of its age. As the foremost naval power of that era, Britain was obliged to undertake sustained and highly rationalized construction programs to provide herself with enough of these leviathans to meet her strategic requirements and to continually replace vessels lost to enemy action, the rigors of the sea or, much more commonly, to rot and shipworms.

In his most rewarding and enlightening introduction, Lavery points out that the British ship-of-the-line was, of necessity, a great bundle of compromises. Her designers had to take into account the successes and failures of previous ships, the need to provide adequate speed and weatherliness, the requirement to pack a vast body of men into the hull and keep them furnished with food and water for extended cruises, and the necessity of mounting an effective battery of heavy, medium, and light artillery. Hard experience showed that any ship that overemphasized one or more of these considerations at the expense of the others would fail as an effective weapon. To add to these requirements there was a set of further constraints revolving around the supplies of suitable timber and the need to conserve material, the cost of ships and the ability of the Admiralty to pay for them, the strength limitations of oak and teak, the width and depth of rivers and streams that served as sites for the building yards, and the need to keep an eye on what the opposition across the Channel was doing in working out their own design compromises.

After much trial and error, the British finally recognized two major classes of ships as best meeting their needs and reconciling all of the contradictory requirements inherent in line-of-battle ships. These were the two-decker 74 and the three-decker of 98 to 110 guns. The 74 was well balanced between operational capabilities and economic realities. It was a ship of sufficient force to be a significant factor in a battle line or on an independent cruise and at the same time it was economical to build and relatively easy to man and equip. It comprised the bulk of the British battlefleet and performed well in every major engagement. The three-deckers were intended to provide the extra accommodation needed to embark an admiral and his staff. They were also intended to function as strongpoints to anchor the line-of-battle and identify the core of the fighting fleet. In addition to this they were useful as symbols of prestige and national greatness. On the debit side they were generally indifferent sailers, difficult to adequately man, very expensive, and not versatile enough for extended overseas deployments. For these reasons the three-deckers were relatively rare but proved to be quite successful participants in general fleet actions and popular flagships.

To arrive at this consensus the British built hundreds of ships-of-the-line between 1650 and 1800 and engaged in many experimental efforts to vary the basic design equation. There were classes of two-deckers mounting 44, 50, 60, or 64 guns. There were three-

deckers of 80 guns, ships built with unusually heavy guns up to and including 42 pounders, and ships built on French design principles that were inspired by prizes taken into the British service and carefully evaluated. Most of these innovations were not successful. Even the French ships, although widely admired for their fine sailing qualities and more generous accommodation, were found to be too lightly built to withstand the continual pounding of blockade service and their holds were too small to carry the supplies and provisions needed for intensive operations that might see a ship at sea for eleven months out of every twelve.

Economic stringency and dire necessity also obliged the British to make a careful study of the art of keeping older ships-of-the-line in service well past their primes. Extensive programs of rearming, rebuilding, bracing, and modifying were undertaken which bear an uncanny resemblance to our modern efforts to effect Fleet Rehabilitation and Modernization (FRAM) and Service Life Extension (SLEP) programs. In some cases thoroughly rotten ships were trussed with elaborate systems of internal braces, sheathed with a new skin of oak planking, and sent back to the fleet. In other cases the ships were disassembled and substantially rebuilt, even with new midship sections to lengthen them and increase the number of guns carried. Modern naval administrators struggling with the problems of limited construction budgets and block obsolescence are sure to find themselves on familiar ground when they read Lavery's account of these schemes.

In relating all of this ship lore, the author is careful not to neglect the human side of the drama. Britain's sea lords, master shipwrights, and dockyard superintendents were prominent men of affairs whose genius, or lack of it, was given tangible expression in oak and canvas. Shipwrights were expected to enter the dockyards as apprentices and thoroughly master the business of hewing frames and steaming planks before they ever set foot in the draughting office. Their training was entirely practical and they were expected to consult closely with sea officers of vast seniority and long service afloat when planning new classes of vessels. Naturally there was factionalism, favoritism, jobbery, and other forms of chicanery along with egotism and clashes of temperament to be reckoned with. In the main, the British scorned the French and Continental effort to develop and apply 'scientific' principles of ship design but this did not inevitably have bad results. The close analysis that French prizes were subjected to revealed that their 'academically' trained draughtsmen were often inclined to be careless in matters of detail precisely because they were not thoroughly grounded in ship carpentry. Some of the best ships resulted when French hull lines were combined with British scantlings and construction practices. A successful synthesis of this sort could provide a basic model that would be copied again and again for the next half century or more.

In developing his subject over a two-hundred-year time span, Lavery points out the basic irony inherent in the ship-of-the-line. It was generally a very stable piece of technology. Design progress was slow and improvements were incremental. Perfection of the type was never really attained but came closest to realization at the very end of the epoch just when radical innovations in steam propulsion, armor plating, and breechloading shell guns firing exploding projectiles made them suddenly obsolete. A few were fitted with auxiliary engines but development of the basic ship-of-the-line ceased abruptly after 1850. After two centuries of supremacy at sea, they vanished almost overnight. Today only two examples are preserved, the Swedish *Vasa* and the British *Victory*, to recall the days when dominion over the seas was determined by the thunder of smooth bore cannon and the rumble of gun trucks over wooden decks.

JAMES E. VALLE, Ph.D.
Delaware State College

BRIAN LAVERY, *The Ship of the Line*, Volume II, Design, Construction and Fittings (London: Conway Maritime Press, 1984. Published and distributed in the United States and Canada by the United States Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, Maryland). 10″ x 12″, cloth, 191 pages, illustrations, appendices, notes, index. $29.95.

This work is the companion to volume one and followed it into print early in 1984. It shares the same physical makeup and basic layout style but its focus and development are quite different. Volume one was essentially a work of history with emphasis on chronological development, administrative and economic details, personalities, and operations as well as technical considerations. Volume two is much more anti-

quarian in scope and subject matter. The chronological approach is abandoned here in favor of a topical format which features separate chapters on hull design and construction, decoration, masts and yards, sails and rigging, fittings, accommodation, and armament.

As in volume one, illustrations are liberally used throughout the text to demonstrate the points that the author is making about the slowly evolving technology of the ship-of-the-line during its two hundred years of development and supremacy. All of these illustrations are monochrome with the exception of the handsome dust jacket and consist of prints, paintings, draughts, and photographs of models contained in the collection of the British National Maritime Museum, the Science Museum, and other European repositories. There are also some modern plans and draughts executed especially for these books by Jack Deller and Colin Franklin. Most of these illustrations are well done and adequately reproduced but a few of the older draughts are annoyingly dim. Whether this is the fault of the originals themselves or of the process of reproducing them, the publishers should have done something to correct the problem. It would have been an easy matter to commission modern copies and thus save the reader a good deal of eyestrain. The draught of a 38-foot longboat on page 124 is a particularly bad example of this lapse.

Another pitfall inherent in using original source illustrations is that they are sometimes not up to the technical standards of modern illustration. Perspectives are distorted, labels are rendered in longhand or very tiny print, and once again there is the problem of dimness. Carefully executed modern drawings are much more helpful, especially to the model makers and other types of technical researchers who will be most interested in this volume. There is, of course, some historical value and interest to be gained by sticking to original source illustrative materials but modern illustrations are simply clearer, easier to understand, and often more accurate as well.

With regard to the text of volume two, Lavery's technique of supplying enough information to tell a reasonably complete story without going into excruciating detail is much to be admired. His chapters are well organized and easy to follow. He takes pains to relate how operational experience, scarcity of resources, the desire to introduce as much standardization of components as possible, and economic considerations all combined to influence the slow but steady evolution of the different components of the fabric of the ship-of-the-line. One slight quibble related to the text has to do with the failure to provide a comprehensive introduction to volume two. Without this feature it has much more difficulty standing on its own and is therefore clearly subordinate to volume one. Given the price of these books some provision should have been made for those readers who might want to purchase them separately or buy only one. Volume one can stand on its own much more readily than volume two, a problem which more care in providing explanatory front matter for volume two would have greatly ameliorated.

Whatever its faults, *The Ship of the Line* is probably destined to be the last word on the development of the British sailing battlefleet for a long time to come. It could also serve as a pretty good model for detailed follow-up studies of the evolution of French and Spanish ships-of-the-line. Given the fact that the Continental navies were generally more daring and ambitious and raised ship design to a higher form of art than the British did, this is a project that is just crying out to be undertaken. Brian Lavery's two books have provided a fine beginning and, with a few improvements in technical and artistic areas, could serve as an inspiration to future authors.

JAMES E. VALLE, Ph.D.
Delaware State College

W. GILLIES ROSS, editor, *An Arctic Whaling Diary: The Journal of Captain George Comer in Hudson Bay 1903-1905* (Toronto, Ontario, Canada: The University of Toronto Press, 1984). xxxii + 271 pages, illustrations, appendices. $29.95.

The art of journal keeping is probably now as extinct as the dodo. The modern world with its electronic gadgetry has accepted the computer language as the form of record keeping. Yet, one often longs for a sense of the personal, the idiosyncratic that is forever absent in the mechanistic recordings of a soulless and faceless machine. From an early period mariners observed tidal conditions, the weather, and prominent landmarks, but also they wrote down unusual experiences, uncommon occurrences and, to them, curious customs of the inhabitants of distant shores. George Comer's first journal records his initial experiences at sea in the year 1875. Thereafter, and on subsequent

voyages for over four decades a series of notebooks contains Comer's impressions of his maritime life. He recognized that his writings had a special purpose and that he was describing a way of life that was in a state of flux and was steadily dying. This present journal covering the years 1903 to 1905 of some 333 pages in manuscript is a memorable document in its very completeness.

Comer begins his narrative on 29 June 1903—it is almost casual in its opening commentary—but once the voyage of the schooner *Era* actually begins there is a very real sense of activity. This narrative is somewhat unusual in that its author, while dutifully noting the weather and such like, gives his entries wherever possible a personal note. For example, on 24 June he investigated Southampton Island now depopulated and commented that the arrival of one hundred outsiders had essentially destroyed the ecological base necessary for the local inhabitants to survive; or again 26 January there was a sports day of sorts on the ice and he, Comer, participated in the one-hundred-yard dash. Evidently he was not only the perceptive observer but also the gregarious individual.

The journal is useful not only for its discussion of whaling but also for its comments on the Eskimo. The latter had become very essential to the success of any whaling expedition. Comer respected the native peoples and their traditions. For his interest in them and in their welfare he was often ill-regarded by other whalemen who thought his enthusiasms were foolish or crazy. Comer was not content merely to use the written word; he also was a highly competent photographer and his pictorial records of the Eskimo are invaluable.

This present volume is edited in an impeccable fashion by W. Gillies Ross. His introduction is informative covering not only the career of George Comer but with good commentary on the whaling trade and the Eskimo. He has added a neat and concise epilogue which tells of Comer's later history. The illustrations are attractive and useful. A series of appendices covers everything from the lists of crew or the stores to ice thickness at Fullerton Harbour or a statement by Sir Wilfrid Laurier dealing with Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic. While this is not the sort of volume that will appeal to the general reader, it is highly useful as a source book and for the enthusiastic sailor or armchair adventurer. It has a great deal to commend it. W. Gillies Ross is to be congratulated for his good scholarship and for making an unusual journal available for a wider audience.

S. W. JACKMAN, Ph.D.
University of Victoria
Victoria, B. C.

DAVID LARGE, *The Port of Bristol 1848-1884* (Bristol, England: The Bristol Records Society, 1984). xli + 221 pages.

This volume is essentially a source book dealing with the activities of the Docks Committee that regulated the port of Bristol. To prepare a useful and informative volume the editor has necessarily had to be selective. The Victorians were often prosy and there was obviously excessively long and tedious materials which properly could be excluded without difficulty or real loss. The essential documentations such as the reports to the Council are included because they serve to provide the reader with some better understanding of the economic history of the port as a whole.

The editor's introduction sets the documentary material in perspective. It is not a story of unmitigated success or progress. Rivalries between various competing groups must have made some of the professionals concerned with the operation of the dock grind their respective teeth in frustration and rage. A perusal of some of the excerpted documents gives the reader a very real insight into some aspects of the economics of port life in the last century. The volume has been edited in a very professional fashion and is well presented, as one would expect from the Bristol Records Society. This volume will be a welcome addition to students of economic history of Great Britain.

S. W. JACKMAN, Ph.D.
University of Victoria
Victoria, B. C.

GEORGIA W. HAMILTON, *Silent Pilots: Figureheads in Mystic Seaport Museum* (Mystic, Connecticut: Mystic Seaport Museum, 1984). 8″ x 10″, paper, 116 pages, 89 illustrations, bibliography, index. $15.00.

This handsome book is a highly readable scholarly appreciation of the nearly seventy figureheads comprising the collection of the Mystic Seaport Museum. It represents a laudable and successful effort to sepa-

rate fact from fancy respecting a collection which in earlier years had distressed knowledgeable visitors who harbored a healthy skepticism about several attributions, now laid to rest. More than that, however, *Silent Pilots* affords the reader a concise history of the development of ships' figureheads, the fascinating story of the Seaport collection from its origin in 1933 to its most recent acquisition in 1967, and detailed descriptions of forty individual figureheads and the vessels they adorned.

The two long chapters devoted to descriptive and historical analyses of the figureheads in the collection, both identified (twelve in number) and unidentified, tell many absorbing stories brought to light by careful investigation and occasionally by good fortune. How the mystery of *Eunice H. Adams* was unraveled is the stuff that keeps museum researchers happily at work. But even the unidentified figureheads provide hidden facts cleverly revealed by modern technology in addition to unanswered and unanswerable questions no less intriguing to the maritime historian.

Silent Pilots is copiously illustrated and is completed by a catalog of the collection, source notes, bibliography, and index. It reflects great credit on its author and publisher.

CHARLES S. MORGAN

Concord, Massachusetts

JOHN G. ROGERS, *Origins of Sea Terms* (Mystic, Connecticut: Mystic Seaport Museum, 1984). xv + 215 pages. $15.00.

For each of more than 1,300 terms John Rogers offers an extremely short definition, the date of its first appearance, its origin and a citation, just naming the source. Criteria for the selection of words are not clearly defined but those included are terms in present use or which might turn up in books on maritime history or model-building. Many of the words or two-word combinations are not commonly used and presumably are included because of their interesting etymology. A great effort has gone into chasing down the origins of the terms. Unfortunately this is not an exact science; so often the dates and etymologies given are, admittedly, only educated guesses.

Emphasis is not on the technical meaning of the terms nor is it on completeness. The book does not pretend to be a nautical dictionary but rather a companion to existing dictionaries. There are no cross-references. At the end, however, there is an 'index' of terms, lumping the words together into thirteen large categories. The scope of research appears narrow. Of the eighty-nine works cited in the bibliography all but sixteen are from the twentieth century and all are in English. Within those limits, though, all the important sources are present.

There must be a question about the value of the book. Scholars may find some use for it but it is not intended for them. General readers will find the material in and of itself interesting but will find it impossible to just read through the book. The quality of layout, printing, and paper is high and higher than could be expected at the price. The author's goal is entertainment. The work is a labor of deep personal interest. Whether readers will be entertained will depend on whether they share that interest with the author.

RICHARD W. UNGER

University of British Columbia

JOHN BURKE, *Pete Culler's Boats* (Camden, Maine: International Marine Publishing Company, 1984). 8½″ x 11″, hard cover, 332 pages, numerous plans and pictures. $47.50.

The book about Pete Culler is another chapter in the story of the traditional lists versus the 'fiberglass crowd' in yachting.

To maintain some degree of sanity in yacht designs we have always needed people like L. Francis Herreshoff and Pete Culler. Their philosophies were much alike: build a boat that is seaworthy, easy to handle, and radiating a certain beauty of line.

In this fiberglass era when smaller boats can be formed into all kinds of exotic shapes, the result can be a craft that appears to be blown to form with a bicycle pump. As to some of the larger power yachts, some Cuttyhunkers dismiss them contemptuously as 'three decker bungalows.'

Culler saw these complex, big powerboats as spending a lot of time going from port to port looking for servicemen to repair the complex equipment now being made part of so many new craft.

Whether you like what, at times, is the stark simplicity of a Culler design or whether you agree with his philosophy about boats, the book provides stimu-

lation for yachtsmen to consider what a well-designed boat should be and how it should be equipped.

In a stock boat, you get a compromise at best. In a custom-built boat, the owner can create a very personal statement of his interest in the sea. Culler's work is essentially custom designed and built. Thus you have such design labels as: 'V bottom launch proposal for Percy Chubb' or 'Fantail motor launch for Peter Barling.'

The Culler book is another in a series of major publications of yacht designs by well-known naval architects. These expensive books are, in a sense, detailed catalogues for anyone shopping for yacht plans. Someone truly interested in ideas for a custom-built boat could spend two or three hundred dollars for a set of the various volumes and end up saving a lot of money by getting a new yacht as close as possible to what might be truly desired. And think of the fun a person could have in going through the books item by item!

One fact stands out: the Culler book and some of the others are a boon to the continuation of wooden boatbuilding. The popularity and growth of the magazine *WoodenBoat* attests to this, although some of us must confess to enjoying the magazine or the Culler book for nostalgic reasons, too.

In using the term 'Culler book,' it should be explained that much of the writing and the tough job of putting the book together has been the task of John Burke. It was a labor of love. Burke, a professional boatbuilding neighbor of Pete Culler, is captain of the ferry from Hyannis to Nantucket. He is a correspondent for *WoodenBoat* and is vice-president of the Traditional Small Craft Association.

Burke points out that it was Culler's widow, Toni, who had the idea for a Culler plans catalogue and she gave Burke access to the plans and notes by Culler, who not only designed boats, but built them too.

It is worth noting that International Marine, the publishers, in their December 1984 circular list books by such noted naval architects as Henry A. Scheel, Philip L. Rhodes, L. Francis Herreshoff, Philip C. Bolger, John Atkin, William Garden, and others. In almost every case, plans are in the books and can be ordered.

It is interesting to note that the circular also lists a new book by 'Dynamite' Payson with Phil Bolger, who has created a new book about simple boats to build and thus create 'Boats that would not require a great investment of time to cut out and button up.' In short, boats for the inexperienced builder whose fundamental desire is to get out on the water.

Thus Culler's book makes an important contribution to the homebuilder who wants to do it himself. But customer-built yachts are equally well treated. In either case, the yachtsman gets a seaworthy, tough craft from Culler plans.

JOHN R. HERBERT

Boston, Massachusetts

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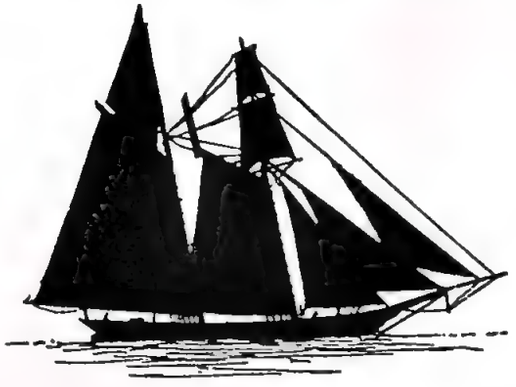

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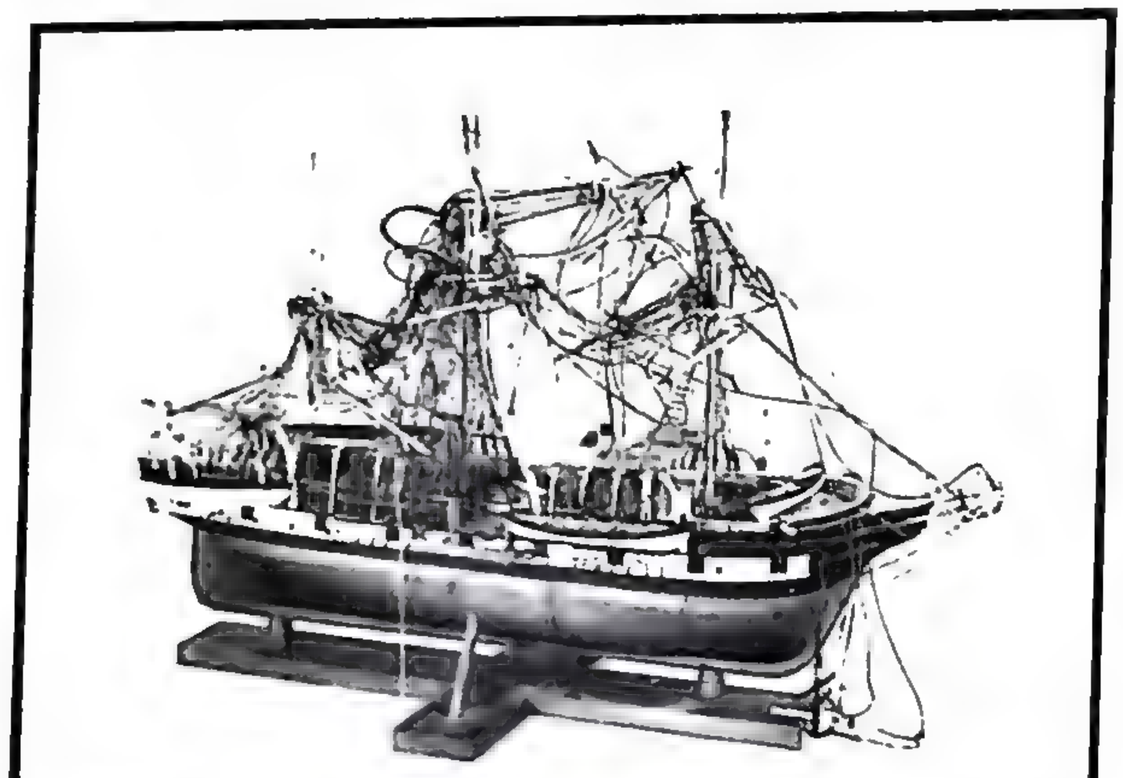

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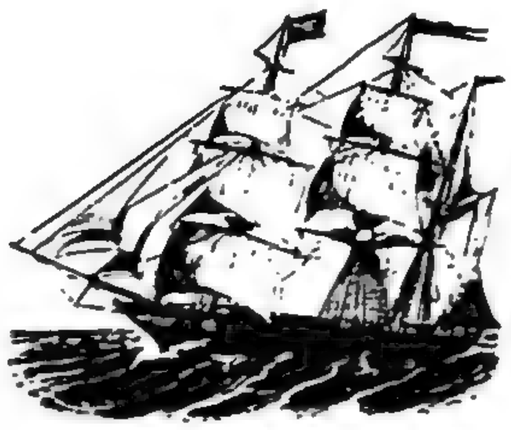

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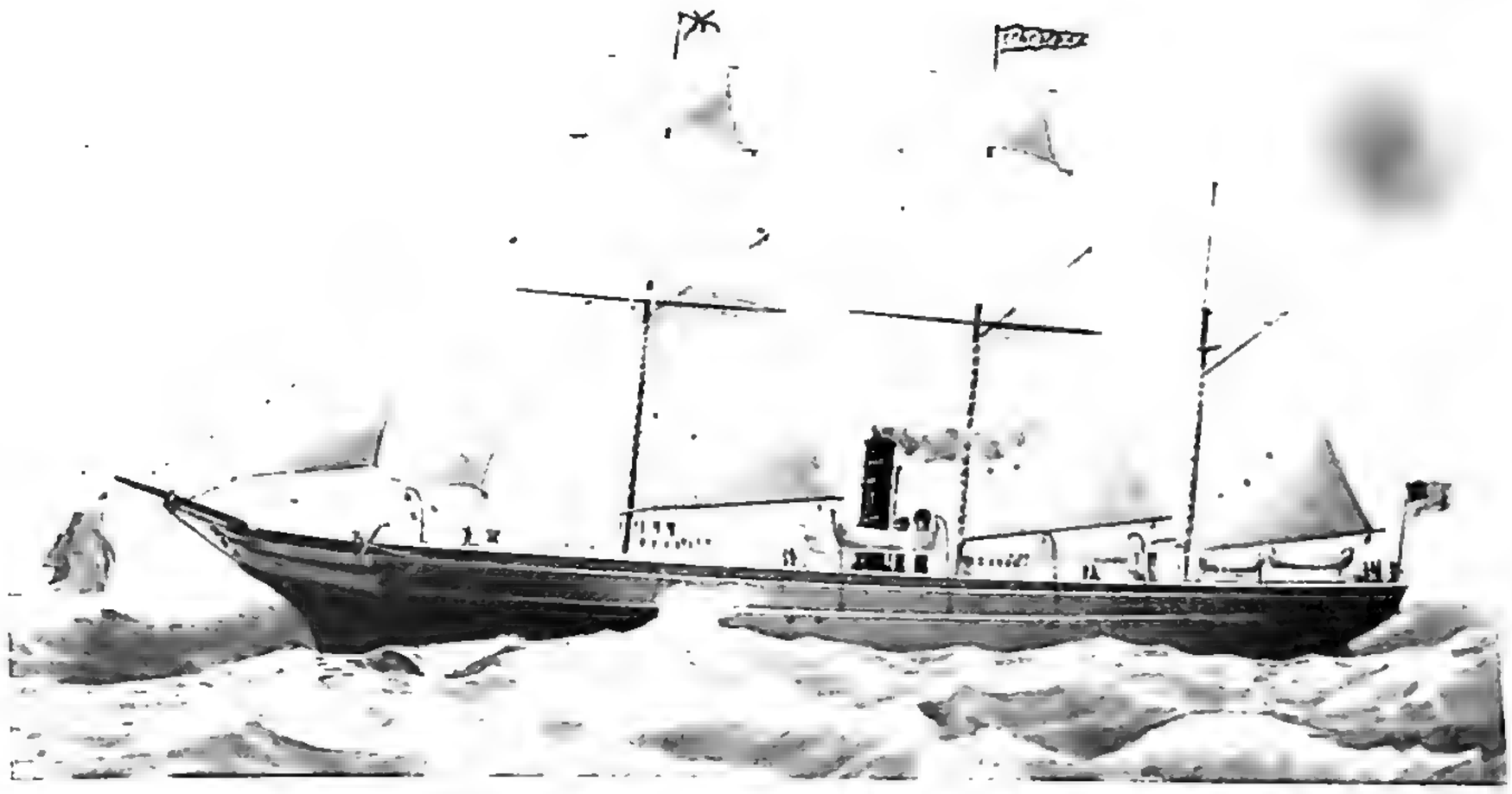

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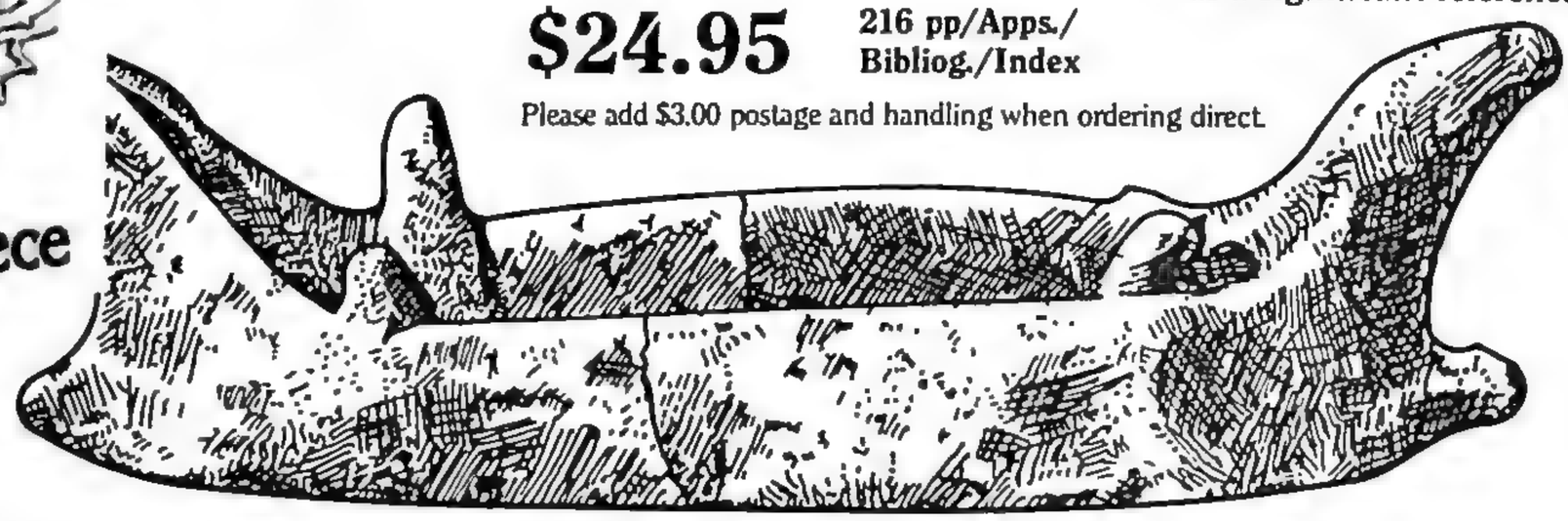

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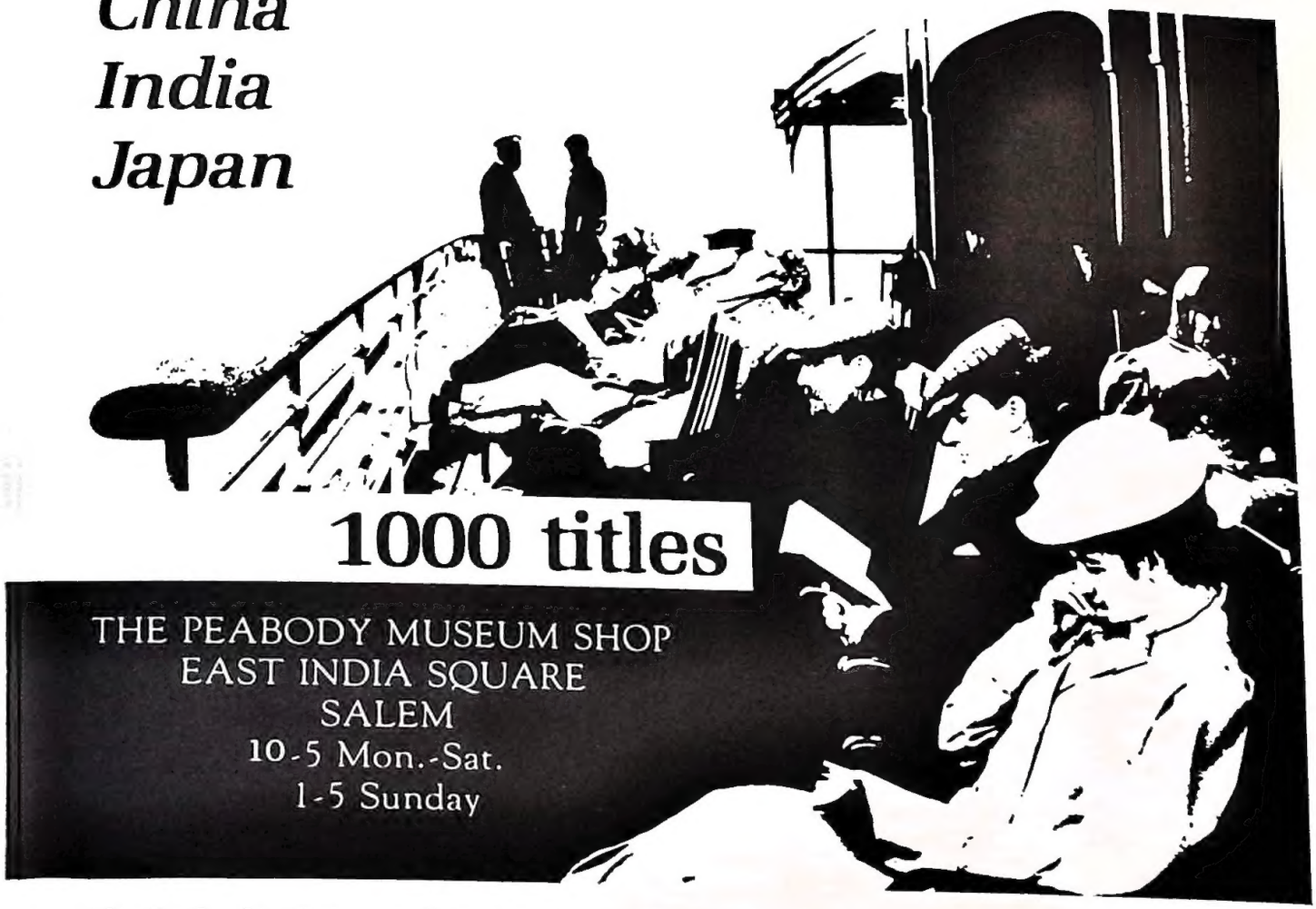

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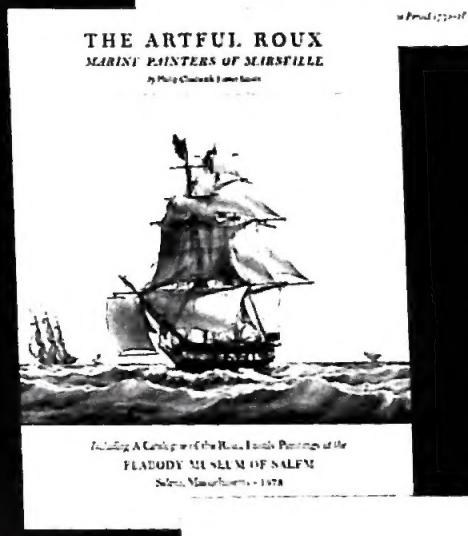

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